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ABSTRACT

Succession socialization is the movement of an aspirant from candidate to protege to administrator. The 'rites of passage' are delineated as announcement, training, and advancement. The vehicle is the sponsorship mode which entails identification, adoption, and molding of the protege in the attitudinal image of the sponsor. Completion of succession socialization (that is, acceptance by administrators) is achieved after the protege displays an appropriate administrative perspective. However, informal promotional practice results in the exclusion of ethnic minorities and women. Faulty characteristics are subconsciously and consciously attributed to minorities and women, with the assumption that these qualities would prevent them from functioning in an administrative role. Because of historical resistance by minorities to acculturation, and because socialization is a form of acculturation, sponsorship is not sought. Thus, since succession socialization is the established informal route to promotion, culturally diverse persons are filtered out, not on the basis of competencies and competion, but on unfounded stereotypic characteristics and favoritism. (Author/WM)

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FINAL REPORT

SUCCESSION SOCIALIZATION: Its Influence on School Administrative Candidates and Its Implication to the Exclusion of Minorities from Administration

National Institute of Education Project No. 3-0813

Leonard A. Valverde, Ph.D.

University of Texas at Austin
Austin, Texas

1974

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SUCCESSION SOCIALIZATION: ITS INFLUENCE ON SCHOOL ADMINISTRATIVE CANDIDATES AND ITS IMPLICATION TO THE EXCLUSION OF MINORITIES FROM ADMINISTRATION

Leonard A. Valverde

This research concentrates on investigating a subset of socialization, succession socialization. Socialization falls within reference group theory which deals with the process in group life which sustains or curbs positive orientation to a non-membership group. (Merton 1967) Succession socialization is the process of interaction between a stable social system of higher status (public school administrators) and the new members (teachers) who are attempting to enter. Mobility, movement from teacher to administrator, is dependent upon conformity. That is, disassociation with a membership group produces progressive alienation and leads to affiliation with a non-membership group by adoption of norms, values, behavior patterns, and attitudes. (Merton 1967)

Since this is an effort to develop a descriptive and explanatory model of succession socialization as it relates to promotion in large metropolitan school districts, data collection was by open-ended interview and data analysis was by the Substantive Theory approach. (Strauss 1965)

Succession socialization is the movement of an aspirant from candidate to protege to administrator. The 'rites of passage' are

delineated as announcement, training, and advancement. The vehicle is the sponsorship mode which entails identification, adoption, and molding of the protege in the attitudinal image of the sponsor. Completion of succession socialization is exemplified by the shift in the protege's educational perspective. That is to say, acceptance by administrators is granted after the protege displays an appropriate administrative perspective.

The informal promotional practice also results in the exclusion of ethnic minorities and women. Hypotheses and corollaries are formulated herein as possible explanations to the phenomenon of why culturally different persons and women are absent from public school administrative positions such as principals and superintendents.

Capsulizing the hypotheses, faulty characteristics are subconsciously and consciously attributed to minorities and women with the assumption that said qualities will prevent functioning in an administrative role. Also if minorities and women do not overtly announce their candidacy and teachers do not grant peer acceptance, sponsorship will not be forthcoming. Because of historical resistance to acculturation by minorities and socialization being a form of acculturation, sponsorship is not sought. Finally, since succession socialization is the established informal route to promotion, culturally diverse persons and women are filtered out not on the basis of competencies and competition but on unfounded stereotypic characteristics and favoritism.

Dedicated to:

My father, Leopold R. Valverde, who was always there when I needed someone and who prepared me well for responsibility

and

My mother, Carmen R. Valverde, who is constantly teaching me to do what is right by her example and whose love is timeless.

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Many persons helped indirectly to the production of this dissertation and what it represents. To my informal teachers, Sal Castro, Raul Arreola, and Joseph Conway, I extend un abrazo for practicing what others speak of. To my many colleagues too numerous to cite by name, for their support in the many 'projects' we undertook and which lead to this topic, I thank.

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L.A.V.

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND FOR THE STUDY

Introduction

Promotion into and within the educational administrative sector is generally believed to be a process that provides opportunities for self-development, allows human potential to emerge, and then allocates people in terms of their potential.[1] However, this concept of equal opportunity is quite different from the practice that, in fact, does occur, succession socialization. Becker and Strauss claim that movement to higher echelons within occupations depends on the extent to which the recruit has developed certain occupational and organizational commitments, which correspond to regularized career routes.[2] This study defines the model of succession socialization in terms of its operation within a school organization. The end product also includes a set of hypotheses regarding exclusion of minorities and women from administration; these hypotheses are presented for proof in other settings and by other methodologies.

Although equal opportunity is a public assumption and succession socialization is an institutional practice, both concepts are functional within the public school system's split personality in the following way. Succession socialization is the established practice for promotion

of school personnel and produces the type of administrator wanted by 'insiders' while equal opportunity is used for the benefit of the general public and complies with regulations of outsiders (i.e., conforms to state regulations of standardized credentials, number of years experience, etc.).

This schizophrenia may be explained by considering how it originates. Formal organizations tend to breed informal networks within them. These informal groups emerge and gain their character from such formal factors as physical location of people, the nature of their work, their time schedules, and so on.[3] A particular combination of these factors also gives rise to succession socialization, the informal process of promotion. Thus, a candidate acquires acceptance into and within the administrative sector not only by learning the job skills, but more importantly, by understanding and accepting the group's expectations, its way of doing things, and its climate or culture. Edgar Schein labels this as the 'price of membership'.[4]

Succession socialization is structured to satisfy its main goal--promotion--however, it also culminates in exclusion. The aim of this study is twofold: first, to examine succession socialization as a process of informal promotion, and secondly, to discover its means of exclusion for culturally different persons and women.

Statement of the Problem

The study attempts to clarify how the school organization uses socialization in the sponsor-protege practice of succession. Succession is defined as the process traditionally used by the school organization to determine promotion and acceptance of candidates into the administrative sector. The study restricts succession to mean movement from one position to a higher one within the same organization. The major effort will be to understand how the preparation and training for advancement influences the candidate's perspective, which, in turn, ultimately effects and possibly determines the candidate's on-the-job practice. This primary focus also gives rise to another major concern of the study, what implication succession socialization has on the exclusion of minorities from the administrative sector.

What I have labeled succession socialization, most authors have referred to as anticipatory socialization or organizational socialization. Unfortunately, the literature or research has not viewed succession socialization as a distinct concept, but only as a part of anticipatory or organizational socialization. This lack of definite classification within the field of socialization may be partly due to the fact that socialization is just beginning to be studied within the area of professional organizations. The difference between succession socialization and the other two processes will be made here briefly and developed later at length.

Anticipatory socialization is the process a candidate goes through before the formal change of role. It operates at various different stages of a person's life, i.e., from student to worker, from husband to father, etcetera. In regard to organizations, the change in role can be the result of upward, lateral, downward, or outward movement. Organizational socialization is only concerned with the learning of necessary values and norms deemed desirable by the organization. However, the learning a person is subject to occurs both after and before the change in role. Succession socialization differs from the above in the limit of its boundaries. Succession socialization is only concerned with a candidate whose movement within an organization is a *PROMOTION* and with the *NECESSARY LEARNING* he is subject to *PRIOR* to formal acceptance.

In regards to consequence, the focus is the antithesis of inclusion, exclusion. Succession socialization as the promotion mechanism not only prepares protege and candidates to perform administrative duties, but more significantly, molds and shapes a person to perform these administrative duties and responsibilities in a certain acceptable and established manner. Because of this replication function, succession socialization is exclusionary for ethnic minorities and women. At the same time, the molding process has indirect influence in the administrator's operation of a school plant.

Socialization: Review of the Related Literature

Initially studies of socialization were directed at children (early childhood and adolescence) and later extended to adults. Since a great deal of adult living is connected with institutions, adult socialization takes place primarily in relation to institutions, i.e., church, political parties, government bureaucracies, schools, jobs. Hence the research in adult socialization has produced subdivisions, mostly concentrating on its operation with regard to institutions. Thus far adult socialization is subdivided into occupational socialization, organizational socialization, professional socialization, and anticipatory socialization.

Anticipatory socialization encompasses occupational socialization which, in turn, encompasses the intersection of organizational and professional socialization (refer to Figure 1). Occupational socialization includes both cognitive learning and at least minimal internalization of appropriate norms in the world of work.[5] Organizational socialization is the process by which a new member learns the value system, the norms, and the required behavior patterns of the organization or group he is entering.[6] Professional socialization is the acquiring of values, attitudes, and norms of a specific profession prior to actual on-the-job practice.[7] The major portion of professional socialization occurs during a student's specialized education; this means law school for lawyers, medical school for physicians, and graduate school for most professionals. On the other hand, anticipatory socialization is

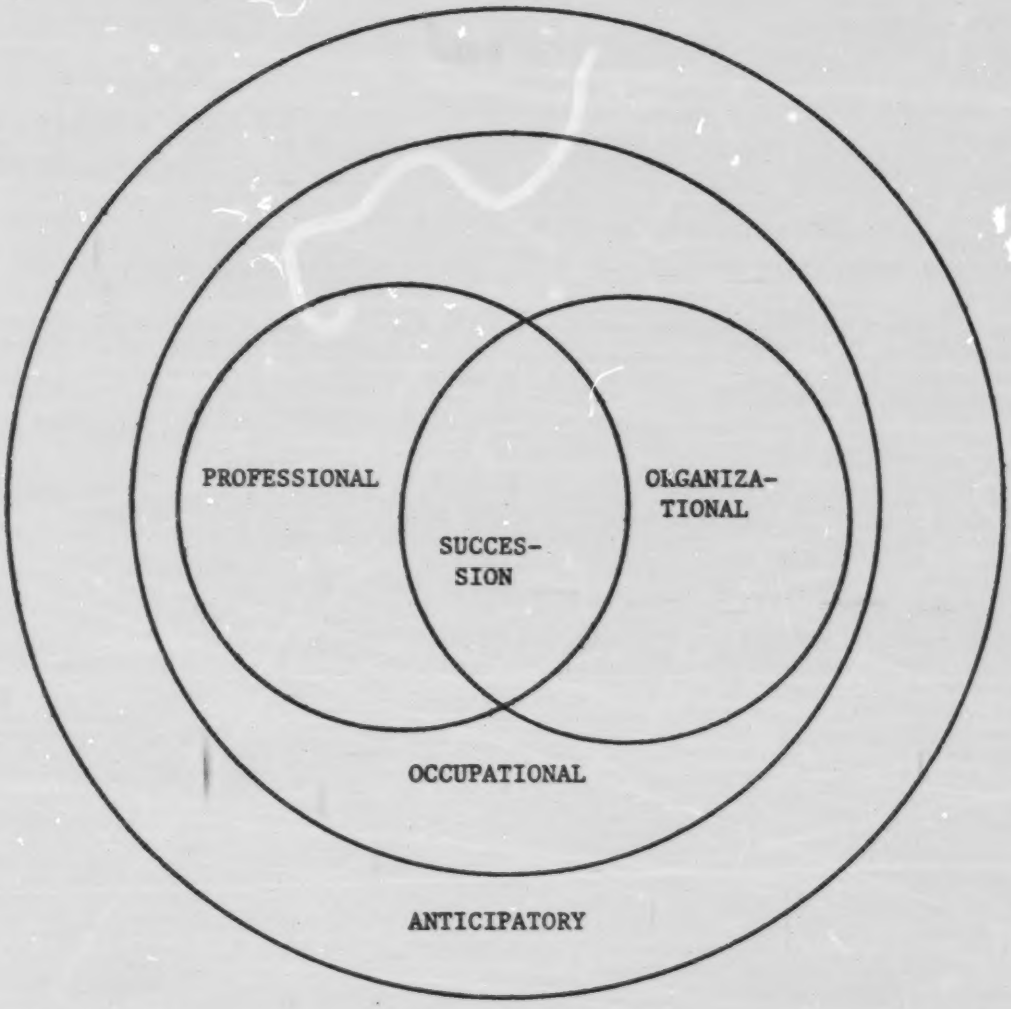

Figure 1
TYPES OF SOCIALIZATION

The various types of socialization are drawn as sets and their relations to each other are pictured. Anticipatory socialization encompasses occupational socialization which, in turn, encompasses the intersection of organizational and professional socialization. Succession socialization thus is a derivative of anticipatory and organizational socialization. Succession socialization is also within the domain of occupational and professional socialization.

concerned with persons changing their roles, such as from student to worker. More precisely, it focuses on the period between the point of decision and the point of entry.[8]

In the realm of work, anticipatory socialization is the study of a person who anticipates being promoted, transferred, demoted, or terminated. Although anticipatory socialization has developed some theory on career mobility within an organization, none of these four moves has been intensively investigated as a separate entity.

Since succession socialization is composed of a strand of anticipatory socialization and another of organizational socialization, it is necessary to isolate and clarify those strands. Since organizational socialization is concerned only with the employee's learning of those values, norms, and behavior patterns which are necessary from the organization's point of view, and since this learning happens prior to and after selection, the strand to be isolated is the necessary learning that occurs before the employee is placed in the new position. By combining this strand with the promotion aspect of anticipatory socialization, we have a definition of succession socialization. Succession socialization is the process by which a candidate prior to promotion learns the value system, the norms, and the required behavior patterns the reference group designates as necessary for advancement (see Figure 2). Concentration, then, is on what a candidate must learn prior to moving up; what norms, values, attitudes, behavioral patterns he must display in order to gain acceptance and thus be advanced.

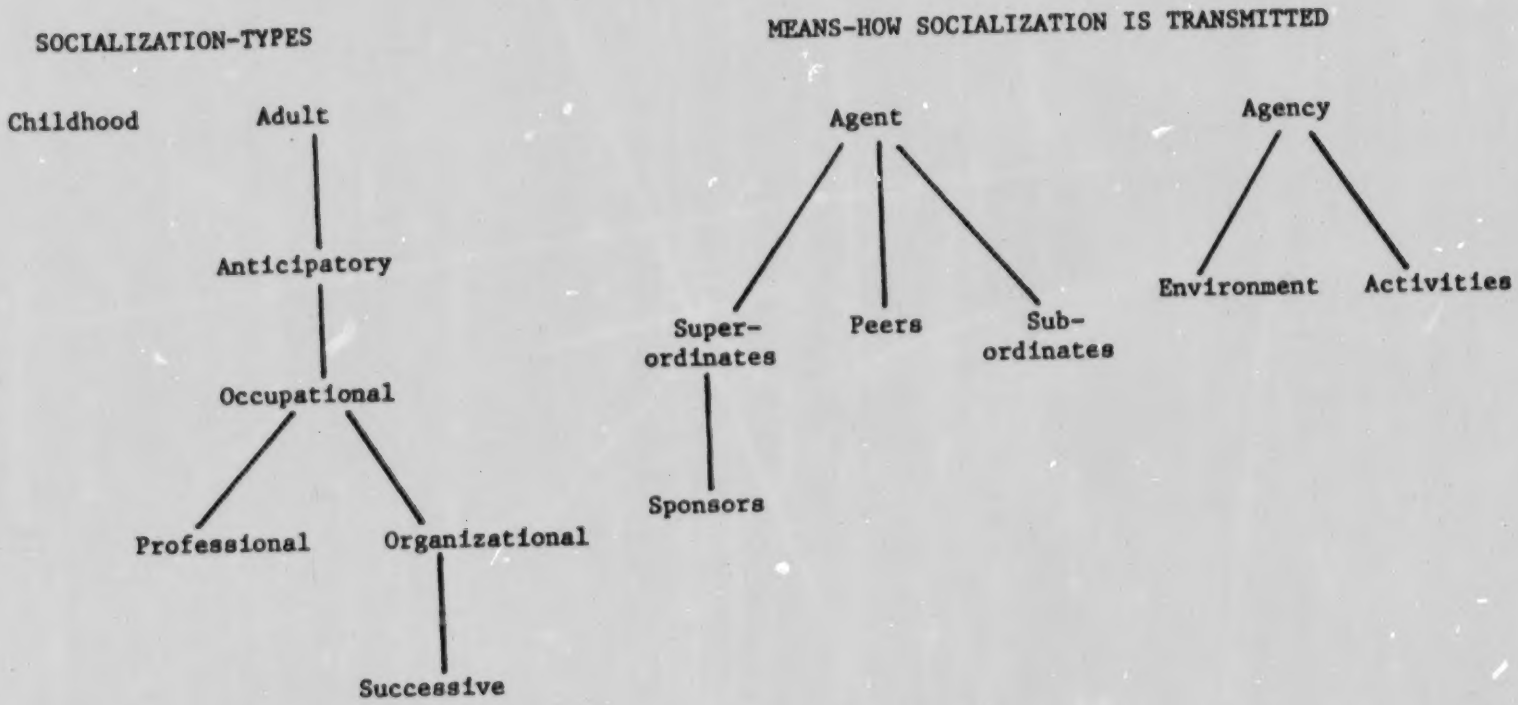

Figure 2
SUCCESSION SOCIALIZATION - HOW DERIVED

From Anticipatory socialization, the aspect of anticipating promotion is taken.
From Organizational socialization, two aspects are taken (1) learning the necessary values as deemed by the organization, and (2) learning the necessary values prior to advancement.
Operationally, the socializing agent to be viewed is the sponsor.

Socialization occurs each time a person changes his role in life. The process is operative in childhood, adolescence, and adult life. Socialization frequently functions in a person's occupational life. Edgar Schein states that organizational socilization occurs in school and again when a graduate enters an organization, moves from one department to another, or from one rank level to another. It occurs again if he leaves one organization and enters another.[9] Thus it can be assumed with relative certainty that succession socialization becomes operative each time a person is advanced upward in his career. The different positions expressed by a person at different stages of his career clearly indicate that attitudes and values change several times during the progression. The shifting of attitudes and norms is generally referred to as change of perspective. Change of perspective by a person is a major indicator that socialization has occurred. As documented by Becker, the change of perspective among people advancing upward through an organization is vividly demonstrated by medical students as they progress through their schooling.[10] Changes in a person's values, norms, and behavior patterns can also be seen in the world of work. In education, for example, Ronald Blood has recorded that as teachers became administrators their perspective became 'broader'.[11]

Socialization is the result of two forces, the socializing agent and the socializing agency. The socializing agency within the world of work would be the organization by whom the person is employed. This agency shapes and molds its employees by two means, the working

environment and the job activities. There is little literature that has focused on the institution as the socializing force. Howard S. Becker deals somewhat with the notion of the organization as the molding force. He views individuals being socialized by the process of 'situational adjustment'. Situational adjustment is described by Becker in the following manner:

> "The person as he moves in and out of a variety of social situations learns the requirements of continuing in each situation and of success in it. If he has a strong desire to continue, the ability to assess accurately what is required and can deliver the required performance, the individual turns himself into the kind of person the situation demands."[12]

The essence of Becker's situational adjustment is that structure can explain personal behavior. People can be coerced by situations to behave in a desired manner. Two studies related to and supportive of this aspect are Becker's Boys in White[13] and Iannaccone and Button's Function of Student Teaching.[14]

Boys in White documents that the behavior of medical students changes as a result of certain factors, one being the heavy demands of the extensive curriculum. Faced with the situation of learning medical knowledge, students enter with the perspective of wanting to learn it all, but soon adjust to learning what is necessary. The important factor determining the student's behavior is the impersonal demands of the curriculum.

Functions of Student Teaching may be a better illustration of an impersonal determinant as the socializing agent. In student teaching the neophyte is faced with practicing in the classroom what he has long been learning as a student. In effect, student teaching results in a new experience, namely, training in classroom management. The experience of student teaching is designed to afford a candidate the opportunity to put his student knowledge into practice. Instead, the student teacher is adjusted to the classroom situation by such constraints as time limit, required material to be covered, and impositions due to the various school activities. The socializing agency by means of the working environment and the job activities forms behavior.

As mentioned earlier, the other major means of forming behavior is the socializing agent. In fact, Robert K. Merton believes that socialization of an individual takes place primarily through social interaction with people who are significant for the individual.[15] In support of Merton's assertion is Orville Brim's claim that there are a number of people directly involved in socializing a person.[16] The influence of these significant individuals is due to their frequency of contact, primacy, and their control over rewards and punishment. The extent of impact the socializing agent has on a person can best be measured by Brim's statement of role acquisition.

> "[A] major component of socialization involves learning the 'role of the other', that is, trying to anticipate the other's response to one's own performance and appraising his behavior as good or bad."[17]

Alex Inkles also places major emphasis on the social interaction of persons as a socializing force. Inkles remarks that socialization essentially is the scrutinizing of the social structure of an organization.[18] That is, the socialization process is dependent upon and shaped by certain more or less fixed or regular aspects of the network of social relations in which the individual lives. As evidenced by the above three authors, most of the socialization literature has been concerned with the concept of interpersonal interaction among individuals.

Interpersonal interaction among individuals refers to the exchange between the individuals and 'significant' others', i.e., subordinates, peers, and superordinates. Within each of the three groups, subunits have been distinguished and identified. For example, the peer group is not a homogeneous group, as most people believe. Although the peer group is made up of individuals who are of equal rank and official status, there are persons in it who have been in the organization longer and thus serve as 'big brothers'. In the superordinate group are individuals to whom a person is responsible (a boss or supervisor), and those with whom an employee has no direct line contact, but who are his superiors because of their high stations within the organization. A more systematic classification of the relationship between the individual and the socializing agent has been developed by Brim. Brim lists four classifications: formal organization, role of learner specified, formal organization, role of learner not specified; informal organization, role of learner specified; and informal organization, role of

learner not specified.[19] This research will narrow its effort to one classification: formal organization, role of the learner specified, since the sponsor-protege practice falls within the classification.

To a candidate who may or may not be working for advancement, a sponsor is a significant other who occupies a higher position and is interested in elevating the candidate within the organization. The protege may or may not be aware of the sponsor's adoption.[20] In the case where the protege is unaware of having a sponsor, the classification is formal organization, role of the learner not specified.

The sponsor-protege practice is frequently mentioned in succession studies. However, although the literature generally notes the sponsor-protege practice and comments on its relationships to the socialization process, it offers few descriptive models. Furthermore, the approach has been to view the sponsorship from the protege's perspective, and still fewer have detailed the practice in school administration. The uniqueness of this study is that it will attack the sponsor-protege practice from the sponsor's side within the context of school administration, and it will terminate in a descriptive model.

The role of significant others is linked very closely to another aspect of socialization, namely, occupational identity. Wilbert Moore writes that occupational identity is a mechanism of socialization and is transmitted by significant others.[21] An individual acquires occupational identity by internalizing group norms, values, and attitudes. The norms and attitudes of any occupation are exemplified by significant

others, and it is by displaying these norms and attitudes that significant others influence individuals. A person willing to accept and manifest these norms of the group will be incorporated into the group and thus have a high probability for advancement within the organization. In the case of sponsor-protege, the sponsor not only models these norms for his favorite, but also attempts to channel the protege's informal learning to maximize group allegiance. Three works that substantiate candidates internalizing occupational identity through participation of certain activities selected by significant others are Blood's The Function of Experience in Professional Preparation,[22] Flora Ortiz' The Process of Professional Incorporation,[23] and Daniel Griffiths' Teacher Mobility in New York City.[24]

In Blood's dissertation, he records how elementary teachers, who are seeking to become elementary principals, obtain 'administrative perspective' by performing extra-curricular activities assigned to them by the local building principal. These extra-curricular activities not only foster the acquisition of certain skills and information, but also provide extensive exposure to the principal. Hence, the protege is in constant interaction with the norms and values of administration. Access to these administrative duties is at the principal's discretion. It would seem, then, that we have a graphic illustration that the sponsor-protege practice is in constant operation and that sponsors are in a powerful position to socialize their proteges.

Flora Ortiz systematically investigated how women acquired their role in medicine. She posits that organizational identity appears to be enhanced by four interrelated factors, intensive and extensive interpersonal relations with the professional staff, physical proximity to the professional staff, active participation in professional activities, and a working environment facilitating the other three factors. Ortiz concluded that women who totally internalize the professional role are those who are likely to have the most extensive and intensive interpersonal relations, the greatest encouragement and opportunity to participate in professional activities, and a working environment most conducive to the generation of such relationships. Here again the woman intern or resident depends upon significant others to provide, not so much the access as, the degree of access to those four determinants.

Griffiths observed the phenomenon of GASing by persons wanting to advance in the educational system of New York. GASing referred to candidates performing activities, usually extra-curricular, which would serve to "Get the Attention of Superiors".[25] Once more we have an illustration of candidates trying to gain formal membership by displaying their competence and skill to significant others. Of more importance is the fact that in the process of GASing, the candidate is acquiring the norms, values, and attitudes of the group he is attempting to enter. They soon learn that being compatible has more priority than demonstrated skill.

The studies cited mirror the stress placed by most authors when investigating socialization. That is, focus has been on the candidate rather than on the agent. In studies concerned with promotion, it would appear beneficial to concentrate on the socializing agent.

In summary, the study focuses on succession socialization with emphasis on the sponsor-protege practice, specifically noting the sponsor's function. Operationally, the study concentrates on the informal promotional practice of educational administrators in one public urban school district. Among school plant administrators, the sponsors under study are presently principals or those who have been principals but who are no longer in that role.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to develop a descriptive and explanatory model of socialization as it relates to promotion. This process will be referred to as succession socialization. Specifically, succession socialization focuses on entrance into the administrative quarter by means of the sponsor-protege practice. This research intends to study (1) the direct influence succession socialization has on the protege's administrative perspective as shaped by the sponsor, (2) the implications it has on non-advancement of traditionally excluded minorities from the administrative sector, and (3) the indirect influence it has on the school administrator's on-the-job practice.

Scope and Limitations

Since this study is exploratory and not intended as verification, the investigation called for limited but intensive treatment. Consequently, the scope of the investigation was centered on one large metropolitan school district with the assumption that it characteristically reflects other large urban school districts. Within the Los Angeles Unified School District a subunit, one fourth of the district, was used as the resource pool to draw from.

It should be recognized, then, that a limited number of subjects from a larger available population were interviewed. Accordingly, generalization must be limited to the subjects interviewed and to the future supply of like subjects. Clearly, the research has a future orientation. Further, no attempt to scrutinize the behavioral interaction of sponsors with proteges was made.

Significance of the Research

That which has been lacking, a descriptive and explanatory model of succession socialization in relation to an educational organization, will be recorded. As a result, the actual informal practice of promotion of administrators in large metropolitan school districts will be revealed and understood. Consequently, suggestions for changing the training and the requirements for promotion could be extracted.

It is expected that the hypotheses and corollaries formulated regarding the exclusion of ethnic minorities and women will provide knowledge as to why few filter through the informal promotional screen.

If the hypotheses and corollaries are verified by other studies, evidence for change of the practice and policy of promotion will be at hand.

Also, insights provided as to the connection between succession socialization and the administrator's on-the-job practice should yield sketchy but corrective solutions to school plant operations. Therefore, with this study as the skeleton and further proposed research as the meat, the possibility of a different administrative environment emerging is enhanced. Not only will evidence for change be provided, but more importantly the direction of that change will be available.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Since the research purpose was to discover and describe rather than to prove, selection of a sociological and anthropological investigative method was necessary. Utilization of a sociological approach was a further demand since it was assumed that the topic to be explored had to be disguised and also assumed that the participants were not fully cognizant of the consequences of their actions. What follows is a sequential description of the research procedures undertaken in order to both gather data in the field and subsequently analyze it.

The Setting

The research was conducted in the Los Angeles Unified School District, specifically in the eastside. The district has 662 schools, a student population of 620,707 and 27,900 certified personnel.* Geographically, the eastside contains two administrative areas as well as partially bordering other administrative areas. The eastside was targeted since it contained one of the largest pools of potential ethnic

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*Fall 1972 figures, Measurement & Evaluation Report, see bibliography for full reference.

administrative candidates, i.e., Mexican Americans.* Also a substantial number of high ranking administrators have come from the eastside area.

Preliminary Resource Identification

After collaboration with various colleagues, two assumptions were reached. It was concluded that experienced principals would be hesitant to acknowledge the extensiveness of sponsorship and would be unwilling to discuss its mechanics. (What was being challenged was the district's fairness and objectivity). Secondly, it was thought that addressing the topic directly would not yield major insights or information since the topic to be explored, succession socialization, was unknown to the sponsors. Consequently, preliminary interviews were conducted to answer certain questions which, if answered affirmatively, would facilitate the field research. They were: (1) could pertinent information be extracted from interviewees** if the topic to be explored was indirectly revealed and the questions were couched, and (2) could a list of sponsors be compiled. The response to both questions was positive.

Originally, selection of the sponsors was to be based on reviewing the vice-principal's list of the district for the past three to

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*Of 886 certified spanish surname employees, 353 are located in the eastside, or 40% of the total.

**Since the researcher was familiar with the eastside district's personnel, selection of experienced administrative personnel as well as access to them was relatively simple.

five years. The search would reveal principals who had promoted teachers to the first step in administration, the vice-principalship. However, after further consideration, the search design was abandoned in favor of the informal peer identification format. Since the research was to explore the informal operation of the district, identification of sponsors based on peer reputation was thought appropriate.

From the preliminary interviews, a list of names from each interviewed administrator was obtained. The interviewee was told 'Name administrators who have reputations of helping a number of teachers to become administrators'. By cross matching the names appearing on each list, a sponsor's roster was written. It was predetermined to select six sponsors and, if the list allowed, to select a few who were women and others who were of an ethnicity traditionally excluded in administration, i.e., Chicanos and Blacks. Restriction to the qualifiers and narrowness in number was founded on the data collection and analysis mode employed. A description of the sample is provided in Table 1 and a more detailed profile of each sponsor, including a career time line, is available in the Appendix (See Appendix A).

Data Collection*

The researcher scheduled an introductory meeting with each identified sponsor for the purpose of describing the study, soliciting his

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*See Appendix A for alteration of Data Collection Design.

Table One

SPONSOR INFORMATION

Sponsor	Sex	Ethnicity	Years as Administrator	Number of Persons Advanced*	Administrative Perspective Orientation**
A	M	Chicano	16	Unknown	Goal
B	M	Anglo	12	14	Decision
C	M	Anglo	17	15	Human Relations
D	M	Anglo	22	21	People
E	F	Anglo	17	21	Philosophy
F	M	Anglo	17	30	Task

* From teacher to Vice-Principal

** Additionally, all have 'people orientation' as a secondary or overlapping priority focus.

or her participation, and jointly agreeing on a format for interaction. The prospective interviewee was informed that the researcher had acquired his or her name from fellow administrators who had previously been quizzed about speaking with experienced persons qualified to explore the topic of training teachers to become vice-principals. Each of the first six sponsors approached volunteered to participate and, as expected, with the expressed or implicit proviso that the source would not be revealed. With the topic defined as the training of teachers for administration by practitioners, a scheduled working interview was set with audio-taping being the means of recording the conversation. At the end of each session a follow-up session was established.

Open ended interviewing as described by Lutz and Iannaccone is a means of obtaining systematic data about the range of perceptions a particular group (sponsors) have regarding both persons (proteges) and events (training).[1] The method relies on the use of unstructured but focused questions* that have been designed to stimulate free response on a particular topic. The interview is usually given direction by the interviewer, but whenever possible the interviewee is permitted the freedom to change the focused item under discussion, still remaining within the topic's radius.

The interviewer, during the interview, formulates the questions from both the responses given and the predetermined overall focus in

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*For a sample of questions used during the interviews, see Appendix C.

order to extract the information believed to be related to the investigation. The interviewer must be conscious of facilitating specificity without destroying the atmosphere of the interview. This is achieved by formulating questions from the give and take conversation containing explicit references to the problem under study. Three major a priori focus topics were developed by the researcher as a result of reviewing the related literature. The first round of interviews with all the sponsors centered on background information of the sponsor's career within the district and obtaining general data on the sponsorship model. The second round was to gather in depth data on the sponsor-protege operation by requesting each of the interviewees to describe one or two protege's 'rites of passage', commencing with identification and terminating in promotion. The third round was addressed exclusively to the issue of exclusion. The scheme allowed for variables to be discovered rather than isolating and measuring preselected variables.

The taped interviews of approximately one hour duration provided excellent data concerning the principals' perceptions on sponsorship. Collectively the interviews provided a basis for succession socialization. The statements lent themselves to content analysis and provided a source of data for illustrative purposes. Each interview furnished valuable insights to the sponsor's value system and role with every fragmented piece of information drawing together to form a conceptual model. After each interview was completed, a code was assigned to each tape recording to ensure the confidentiality of the respondent during

the transcribing and analyzing phase. The code consisted of the sponsor's I.D. number, interview number, and date of interview (month, date, year). Table 2 provides the specific statistical information regarding the interviews.

Data Analysis

The substantive theory approach was found to be the best suited for analysis of this field research. Glaser and Strauss define substantive theory as:

> "The formulation of concepts and their interrelation into a set of hypotheses for a given substantive area based on research in the area."[2]

Fragmented information which may seem unrelated at first becomes integrated to form basic categories and significant hypotheses which in turn create a central analytical framework. Assisting in formulating an analytical framework is the understanding of the related literature and research. Grounded with an analytical framework, the researcher scrutinizes the qualitative data for the purpose of generating an explanatory and descriptive model or a set of propositional statements amendable to proof in other settings and by other methodologies.

The development of an explanatory and descriptive model of succession socialization was the result of continuously analyzing the qualitative data. Operationally it meant categorizing and classifying events, units, people, groups, and relationships. Listening to taped

Table Two

INTERVIEWS-TIME ALLOCATION

Sponsor	No. of Sessions	Total Time/Hrs.	Average Time
A	3	3+1/4	1 hr./5 min.
B	4	3+1/2	53 min.
C	3	2+3/4	55 min.
D	3	3+1/4	1 hr./5 min.
E	2	2+1/4	1 hr./7 min.
F	4	4+1/2	1 hr./9 min.
Proteges			
G*	1	1	1 hr.
H	1	1+1/2	1 hr./15 min.
TOTAL	21	22	1 hr./3 min.

*Not taped, conversation recorded by note taking.

interviews, transcribing, reading, rereading, note taking, literature examination, and abstracting led to theoretical constructs which brought organization to the data. By continually defining and redefining the qualitative data, succession socialization was brought to crystallization.

As a result of analysis by successive refinement, hypotheses were formulated which gave meaning to the exclusion phenomenon also being studied. Support for the formulated hypotheses is found in the narrative or descriptive accounts in the interviews.

One final stress, substantive theory is grounded on analysis of qualitative data. Therefore, the premise is not that a conclusion or hypothesis is either true or false, rather a hypothesis formulated on qualitative evidence is measured on the basis of how correctly the relationship to be found in the research is stated. The test of correctness is by another methodology.

Theoretical Framework

Substantive theory requires and facilitates generating theoretical constructs to form a theoretical framework. Viewing succession socialization as a process is a more meaningful mode of analysis than viewing it as a function such as the sponsor and/or protege in a particular role. Since behavior is a significant part of the succession socialization process, it was found useful to focus on the described interaction as a primary analytical method for increasing understanding of the process in its

entirety. Accordingly, the following theoretical constructs were utilized to analyze the data.

"Rites of Passage"

Van Gennep's describes the 'rites of passage' as:

> "The life of an individual in any society is a series of passages from one age to another and from one occupation to another. . .progress from one group to the next is accompanied by special acts, like those which make up apprenticeship. . .Transitions from group to group and from one social situation to the next are looked on as implicit in the very fact of existence, so that a man's life comes to be made of a succession of stages with similar ends and beginnings.[3]

Van Gennep delineated the 'rites of passage' into three stages:

> "The 'rite of separation' consists of a marked decrease in the interaction rates of the individual within previous systems.[4]
>
> The 'rites of transition' consists of a marked increase in the interaction, often for a very long period of time in the institution in which he is entering.[5]
>
> The 'rite of incorporation' is when the period of conditioning is over, and the frequency of events have been built up to a constant rate. Incorporation occurs when the members of the group, including individual or individuals directly affected by the crisis, begin to interact in their old systems of relations."[6]

Van Gennep's 'rites of passage' as a theoretical construct allows conceptualization of a protege's succession through sponsorship resulting in promotion. Applying the three stages of the 'rites of passage' to succession by sponsorship, the movement can be visualized by Figure 3.

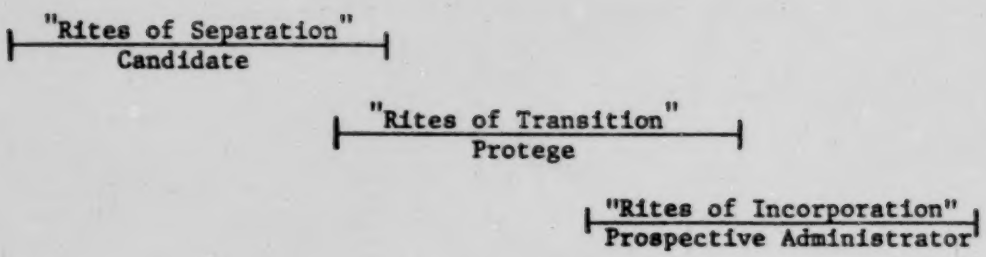

Figure 3
"RITES OF PASSAGE"
Succession by Sponsorship

Codified Behavior

To understand the transformation from teacher behavior to administrative behavior, Getzels and Guba's theoretical model of administrative behavior was adopted.[7] In essence Getzels and Guba posit that formal organization may be seen as a social system where all expectations become formalized. These expectations constitute a codified behavior system, which is implicit but generally understood by all members. As specific individuals are socialized in respect to the organization's codified behavior system, they achieve a cognitive orientation to roles and they respond affectively to this orientation. Consequently, behavior in a formal organization is derived simultaneously from a nomothetic and idiographic dimension. Both the cognitive orientation to roles and affective responses to roles are modified, mostly as a function of the two feedback mechanisms--the reward system and the reference group norms.

Assisting in internalizing codified behavior is Goffman's concept of commitment.

> "An individual becomes committed to something when, because of the fixed and interdependent character of many institutional arrangements, his doing or being something irrevocably conditions other important possibilities in his life. . .He thus becomes locked into a position and coerced into living up to the promises and sacrifices built into it."[8]

Adding the codified behavioral construct to the 'rites of passage' construct, socialization of the voyager can be seen in Figure 4.

ANALYTICAL CONSTRUCT	PHASE I	PHASE II	PHASE III
Rites of Passage	Separation	Transition	Incorporation
	Candidate	Protege	Prospective Administrator
Sponsor/protege practice	Announcement	Training	Advancement
Compliance	Identification	Adoption	Acceptance
Commitment & Codified Behavior	Similar Educational Perspective	Crystallized Administrative Perspective	Polishing Administrative Perspective

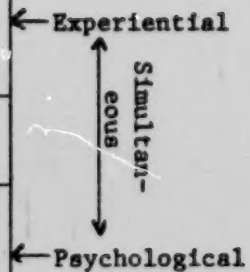

Figure 4

MODEL OF SUCCESSION SOCIALIZATION

Compliance

Since succession socialization was being scrutinized through the sponsor-protege mode, a theoretical construct which explained the interpersonal interaction was needed. Amitai Etzioni's compliance scheme revealed the bonding agent. The compliance mode is extracted from Etzioni's topology of organizations.[9] His topology consists of two basic variables, the type of power or authority which the organization uses and the type of involvement which the organizational member has with the organization. He distinguishes three types of organizations: coercive, utilitarian, and normative. Also he classifies three paralleling types of involvement of organizational members: alienative, calculative, and moral. The topology can be viewed below.

Figure 5

Type of Power Authority versus Types of Involvement*

	Coercive	Utilitarian	Normative
Alienative	*		
Calculative		*	
Moral			*

The compliance mode appropriate for facilitating analysis was the moral-normative.

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*Reproduced from Edgar H. Schein, Organizational Psychology, p. 46.

A Procedural Note

In keeping with the trust of confidentiality, the writer attempted to maintain the anonymity of all sponsors and proteges who contributed to this report. Therefore, in the brief profiles in the appendix, some descriptors that tend to identify a specific person are omitted. Also in upholding the aforementioned decision to conceal the identity of the contributing administrators, letter names were arbitrarily chosen.

Lastly, some of the interview quotes cited throughout the report were edited for clarity and anonymity only, but precautions were taken not to alter the meaning.

CHAPTER THREE

SUCCESSION SOCIALIZATION

Part I Succession: Sponsorship Model Described and Explained

As stated in Chapter One, there are two means of advancement, equal opportunity based on competition and succession socialization based on sponsorship. The former is the official promotional procedure of most districts while the latter is the informal operation which is practiced most frequently in large school districts. The intent of this section is to focus on succession by describing the sponsorship model, the sponsor's functions, what sponsorship is mainly set up to accomplish, and why it continues to operate in large school districts.

The promotion of individuals in large school districts is mainly the result of the informal process commonly referred to as sponsorship. Sponsorship is more prevalent in large districts (than in small school districts) because of the size factor. That is, large school districts have an inherent factor of possessing a large pool of teachers to draw from for advancement. There are more than enough candidates seeking administration from within the district's personnel so

that the district need not look at outside applicants, therefore, creating a "closed shop". A closed shop usually dictates having the insiders control most of the practices, including promotion. That a large school districts' promotional process is based on favoritism rather than competition is revealed by the comments of administrators interviewed, all of whom have had over 20 years employment with the Los Angeles Unified School District and every one of the interviewees except one has had over 16 years of administrative experience. It should be made clear that although sponsorship is not the only way of advancement, it is extremely difficult to advance without it. That sponsorship is critical for advancement will be demonstrated as sucession socialization is described.

As for now, some statements by the administrators interviewed are presented for the purpose of giving credence and rationale as to why sponsorship exists.

Sponsor E states,

> ". . .we have a highly political [district], although not as political as some districts where it's whoever you know, or who you play golf with. We do still have a competitive exam, but it leaves much to be desired. We do try to have a competitive exam and objective evaluations. But even it has lots of flaws. But it's better than the superintendent's relatives getting all the jobs, as in some situations."

As the sponsorship model is developed throughout the chapter the reader will comprehend how the sponsorship mode is interrelated with the official promotional practice, i.e., training and experience, examination,

etc. The next remark is included since it substantiates the existence of a closed shop situation within the Los Angeles Unified School District. Sponsor F comments,

> "The professional organizations were saying, 'We'll select the principal from within our own ranks.' And they do that."

The implication to be gathered is that in-house selection is practiced since the circumstances allow the administrative group to dominate the selection process. That is to say, the administrators of the district not only dictated who will enter their quarter but by what conditions a person will enter. Consequently, large school districts because of their nature, largeness, have built-in factors, large teacher pools to draw from and examination procedures, which lend readily to the establishment of sponsorship as the informal means of advancement into the administrative sector.

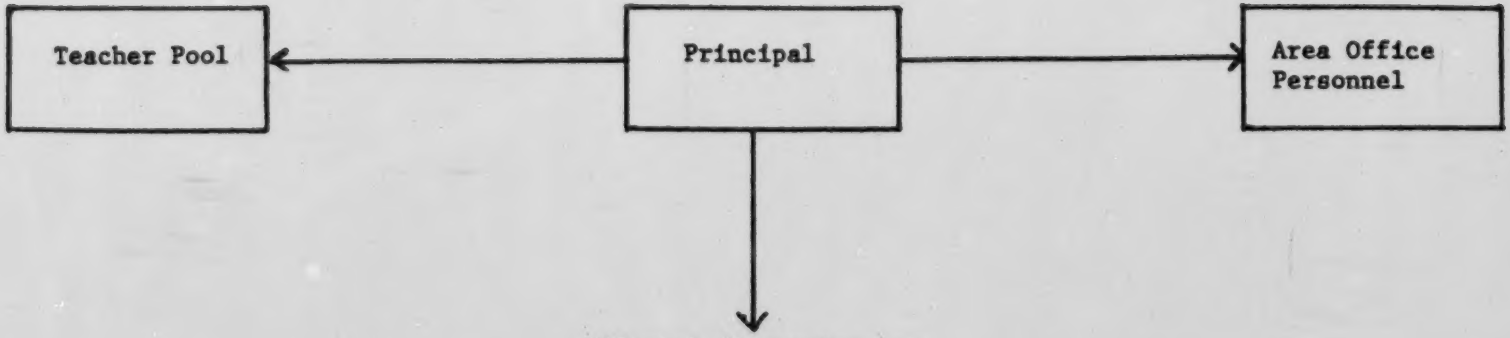
Since the sponsorship mode revolves around the sponsor, it is appropriate to concentrate on the sponsor first. In order for sponsors to provide services to their proteges, they must hold an influential organizational position. The key organizational position within the sponsorship model is the principalship. This does not mean that other administrative positions are not conducive to providing services by the sponsors to their proteges. What is being emphasized is the fact that the principalship does provide two vital resources necessary for sponsors to operate. One, it places at the sponsor's disposal official power to

grant training experiences to persons within the school, and two, it gives the principal access to central office personnel and information as well as other external contacts. In short, the principal is centered between the pool of teachers seeking advancement and significant others who determine entrance. (See Figure 6)

Strategically, the principalship inherently provides sponsors with the necessary resources to assist aspiring candidates into administration. Recounting, the sponsor in the office of the principal has access to the candidate pool (hence selection), has official power to grant training experiences to candidates, has contact with central office personnel who are constantly seeking recommendations of persons who are to be assigned to outside the classroom jobs such as consultantships, directors of special projects, etc., and has the power to approve transfers to other schools or other positions for persons seeking other experiences.

The importance of the principalship as a key position within the sponsorship model is revealed by the comments of the sponsors interviewed. Sponsor A made the following remarks about the principalship when speaking about what a candidate had to do in order to advance.

> "And realizing that, one of the things you really had to do was to be sure that the principal was behind you."
>
> "Well, who do you prove you're a pretty good teacher to, except to your principal?"
>
> "And, of course, my principal has said how great I was in terms of helping and all this."



Official discretion to:

(1) provide opportunities in school

(2) grant transfers to other assignments

(3) recommend when central office seeks teachers for special projects

Figure 6

PRINCIPALSHIP-KEY ROLE IN SPONSORSHIP

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> ". . .the gal (principal) that I was working with (as a vice-principal) was very aware of this, and had been one of those 'kingmakers'".

Sponsor A's comments point out a number of aspects mentioned: that sponsorship is necessary if a candidate hopes to advance, that the principal is the key sponsor, that the principal has the power to highlight persons, and that sponsorship does exist. (The above points match sequentially the quotes cited.) Sponsor B verifies the contention that principals have at their discretion the right to provide necessary training experiences to candidates. Without 'opportunities' as training experiences are referred to by sponsors, candidates are not able to advance in their training. The significance of the principal's discretionary power to socialization will be taken up later in the chapter under the topic of compliance. Sponsor B states,

> "I gave extensive experiences to several people who are now vice-principals and principals".

Sponsor D's echos Sponsor B,

> "Well once you do that [select a person] you take your administrative duties and you start giving them opportunities to work at all of these different duties."

Sponsor E's statement illustrates the influence principals as sponsors have over the advancement of individuals seeking administration. They provide necessary training and exposure to significant others.

> ". . .principals usually provide leadership experiences within the school. They can recommend and suggest to superintendents that, 'We've done everything we can at this situation, but a new situation is desirable.'"

Thus, every administrator holding a principalship has the necessary ingredients to be a sponsor but not all are. There is another factor which an administrator must acquire along with the principalship and that is district-wide contact with other administrators. The necessity for district-wide contact is found in the sponsorship model itself. Sponsorship can be explained as significant others, herein administrators, providing services to favorites. It is a network based on social relationships and personal committments. A sponsor's request is fulfilled by another based on past interaction with the asked person or that person's associates. The response a sponsor elicits is usually determined by his professional and social reputation which he has created by his past interaction with various fellow administrators.

Each of the sponsors interviewed mentioned indirectly that they had held some position or performed some activity which allowed them to gain district-wide contact with other administrators thus establishing an administrator's social network. Sponsor A,

> "One other thing that I began doing was. . .we had a men's club, an elementary men's club which was very active. . . it was more of a comrade type thing. And this is how we got to know people across the district."

Sponsor B,

> "I moved to the business division. Spent five years in the business division, in charge of all the elementary equipment for all the elementary schools. I worked with all administrators, all principals, and all vice principals in all the elementary schools."

Sponsor C acquired district wide contact by way of his teaching experience within the district.

> "One year at school A, one year at school B, two years at school C, and then two years at school D--school E was my vice principal training, so I've run the gamut pretty well."

Each of these assignments were in different parts of the district, therefore placing him in contact with various area office personnel.

Sponsor D was in two positions which allowed him to develop district contact with administrators.

> "When I did the community service drive for the whole city--I was chairman for the whole city--that was a pretty big job because it's organizing all the people in all the different teams. And you involve the schools in this community service drive and I was right on top of this thing. . ."
>
> ". . .and at that time I was very active in the association. I was the treasurer for the principal's group. And I got to know a lot of people."

Sponsor E became a sponsor as a result of her being assigned a principalship of a training school for ten years. Principals of training schools are always looking for replacements for training

teachers* moving into administration. It will be shown later that placement in a training school is a key step in sponsorship because it leads to administration. Hence, a constant duty of training school principals is to recruit teachers for replacement. Sponsor E speaks of her career flow:

> "Then the next year they put me into a training school [as a principal]; school A at that time was a training school. I was there 10 years."

Sponsor F during his training stage was afforded district wide contact by the superintendent assigning him to be a consultant. During his consultantship the superintendent would place him in various schools to do certain jobs, these special assignments added to his area office personnel contact with whom he regularly interacted.

> "I was a consultant off and on for five years. . .my basic responsibility was the budget and the assignment of personnel. . .I was assigned there by the superintendent."

From the above quotes, the reader is able to grasp the fact that all six principals have by some means accrued district wide contact with administrators giving them the added ingredient to be sponsors. This district wide contact provides knowledge of personnel which in turn enables the sponsor to provide benefits to the protege.

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*Training Teacher: An experienced teacher who prepares prospective teachers by means of on-the-job activities.

The sponsor's functions are actions divided on an internal and external basis that culminates in benefits to the protege. For the most part internal and external functions overlap but there are some that are separate. By externally, it is meant that the sponsor is providing aid to his protege outside the school. Probably the most important external function distinct from internal aid is the placing of the protege into an administrative position (e.g., vice principal's office) or into a position one or two steps removed from entering administration (e.g., a training school assignment as a master teacher or district office consultant). The placing of the protege outside the school is again based on an informal social network. The network operation was discussed by some of the sponsors in reference to moving proteges to other experiences outside the school. Sponsor A remarks,

> ". . .placing them [proteges] into training school. At that time we had school A as a training school and school B as a training school. We had pretty good contacts with the principals at both schools."

Sponsor D brings the network to life for the reader with the following example.

> "He came over to me. He came from school X, principal Y had him over at school X and he sent him--recommended him highly to me. And I think John [the principal] had some questions too. I think John wanted somebody else to try him."

The above examples show the social network in operation for the purpose of placing a protege in another school for additional experience and

also for the purpose of checking the sponsor's selection. Sponsor D's next quote points out that sponsors want to place their proteges with other principals who will enhance the protege's chances of advancement.

> "After about three or four years over at school Y they [the principals] saw most of the vice principals making it right off the bat. Then quite a few came. . .but Mr. A definitely, and Mr. B. definitely were transferred there for that reason [help to enter administration] and they both are principals."

Thus sponsors send proteges to other principals who have established themselves as sponsors. Sponsor B's comments best highlight the network's operation and the external service sponsors provide to their proteges.

> "I then call you and I say 'Look you have a new vacancy, I'm not trying to get rid of this guy, in fact this is my rating of him, buy you have a slightly different community than I have and he needs that experience and so . . .' That happens an awful lot. So basically it's the web of administrators who are seeking and who are working with and who are informed about. That's how we do it."

Most of the functions performed by sponsors are interconnected and overlapping. That is, the sponsor's functions provide aid to the protege not only internally (within the school) but also externally. For example, when a sponsor provides to a protege training experiences which are out of the classroom setting such as being chairman of the spring festival, not only is the sponsor providing needed training and experience but also visibility by exposing the protege to visiting

supervisors and administrators. As we continue to describe the sponsor's functions, the reader will be able to see that most of the services provided do in fact overlap.

Backtracking, it would seem appropriate to identify the categories to which the sponsor's functions belong. The sponsor performs a number of services for the protege which are manifested in various forms but which can be indexed into four categories. They are sanction, advice, protection, and exposure. All four of the categorical functions lead to promotion of the protege, the ultimate goal of sponsorship. Elaborating, the training experiences provided are mainly for visibility and while the protege is undergoing these opportunities, the sponsor is counseling the person. Protection is mostly preventive, or more specifically, not allowing the protege to do or say anything that may harm his/her chances of advancing into administration. Later it will be clear that protection is centered around not antagonizing any superiors. By sanction, it is meant the sponsor must ratify the protege through the district's formal procedures. Sanction by the sponsor takes the form of written ratings and references called for by the district's examination process. A few statements by the sponsors will help to support and illustrate the four categories. Sponsor A's comment indirectly speaks of exposure and directly of advice.

> "I still think that a lot of us have the responsibility of opening the door for somebody else and giving him counsel."

Sponsor C's first comment reflects the function of advice in the form of guidance.

> "as a classroom teacher you don't always know the experience you need to have."

The following comments of Sponsor C illustrate the sponsors' function of sanction in connection with the district's examination procedure of rating.

> ". . .The things that separated you [a candidate] then [after training experiences] were the ratings, the things people said about them."

I continued the discussion of rating with the question, "Do raters have reputations? If so with what impact?" He responded with,

> "We like to think so. Yes, it does have some impact. Like, I know if I'm on an oral or a T&E, when I read a rating from principal X, I'll say 'Why I know him. I respect him, and yes, this is a tremendous rating.' If he says this guy is good, I'm going to believe him."

Thus, a sponsor's partial function is to verify a candidate's advancement by means of the district's formal procedures. This generally is translated into the act of ratings and references.

Sponsor C's last quote is included to denote the sponsor's function of protection. For the most part, sponsors are constantly guarding against having the protege alienate any significant other. The reason is simple: the heart of sponsorship is social acceptance.

Sponsorship is founded on favoritism not competition and, as will be seen later, selection for support is based on likeness not on professional capabilities.

So, too, is advancement based on acceptance. Therefore, it is vital that the sponsor protect the protege from turning significant others from his favor. Since it is difficult to regain the confidence and favoritism of a significant other who has been antagonized, concentration is preventive rather than after the fact. The importance of acceptance will be revealed when the aspect of training in relation to socialization is discussed. For now, that protection does focus on not irritating significant others needs to be verified. I asked Sponsor C "Are there any pitfalls that people who are vying to become administrators should try to stay away from?"

> "Well, being very honest, you can't afford to antagonize anybody. Like one of the principals I had just before I became a vice principal said 'Who are your enemies?' I didn't know I had any enemies. So she said, 'Let me call the principals you've worked with and find out if they're going to give you a good rating or not'".

Here is an example of a principal checking to see if the candidate has alienated any of his previous administrators. The implication being that if the answer was yes, she would have to take some corrective action. Continuing the discussion, Sponsor C answered why sponsors are so very concerned with protecting against alienation. "You have to keep using the same person [administrator] for five years in your ratings."

Acceptance is important since approval by significant others is legitimized in the district's formal promotional procedure. For the first time the reader can see that the informal advancement process, sponsorship, is connected to the formal promotional process to the extent of the informal mode controlling or significantly determining the formal process.

Another citation by Sponsor D helps to more directly illustrate the sponsor's function of protection. I asked sponsor D whether it was possible to erase mistakes made by a candidate while training. He answered by relating a personal incident which he experienced while training for administration. In brief, while acting as a teacher in charge of a small school, he allowed two teachers to leave the premises to attend a funeral. In their absence he supervised their classes by gathering the children together for story telling. The next day the principal who was responsible for the school that Sponsor D was supervising came and abrasively informed Sponsor D of his error. As a result, Sponsor D, a teacher at the time, vigorously argued with the principal, placing him at odds and in disfavor. He ended the story with the reason why the episode did not prevent his promotion.

> "I think why it didn't happen to me was the superintendent was behind me so strongly. Mrs. Y was so strong behind me."

During the interviews with sponsor D it was quite clear that he was a protege of the superintendent while he was seeking administration. Thus, the above is a case in point which graphically pictures a sponsor

protecting a protege from being stopped after he antagonized a significant other. Unfortunately, the examples provided above demonstrate protection after the fact. For the most part protection is preventive as will be shown when the training aspect is discussed.

The last citation is for the purpose of displaying the sponsor's function of exposure. The sponsor's major intent of providing training experiences to the protege is not for the sake of developing skills but acquiring visibility. The importance of exposure over obtaining skills is understood when the aspect of passage is addressed. Advancement and inclusion into the administrative sector is dependent upon the district's examination procedure. The examination is heavily controlled by the administrators themselves. Their control is centered in the rating of a candidate's performance, particularly his training and experiences. The ratings are not based on the candidate's performance of skills, rather they are dependent on his acceptance by others and the support given by the sponsor. Therefore, it becomes primary that the protege come in contact with significant others in order that they get to know him on a personal basis and only secondary that they assist his professional competency. The following comment by Sponsor D reveals the aspect of exposure to be as important as learning some skills, if not more important.

> "School P at that time was a training school. Training gets a person used to supervision. You get pretty involved in curriculum in a school like that. You know the curriculum of all the grades, and you do a lot of experimental

> stuff. You're working with other teachers. You're working with college professors. You're doing demonstration lessons for supervisors and principals."

More will be said about exposure as the sponsorship model unfolds but for now the above explanation will suffice. Also the above quote adequately defines why the training school is a key experience for a protege to have.

By developing the flow of the sponsor-protege mode, additional insight to the sponsor's functions will be made apparent along with a fuller understanding of the sequence involved. The best way of constructing the sponsorship mode is to follow the necessary steps taken by the sponsor to incorporate a protege into the administrative quarter. Essentially, the order of sequence is identification, announcement, adoption, training, and advancement. (See Figure 7)

The identification stage as it related to succession will be briefly described here and in greater detail in the socialization section. Identification refers to the sponsor's initial spotting of potential candidates for adoption as proteges. Basically identification entails two efforts by the sponsor, one is subconscious, the other conscious. Sponsors identify possible candidates for adoption on the foundation of subconscious criteria. Unknowingly their attention to possible candidates is attracted by qualities that candidates have which are similar if not the same as the sponsor's qualities. Following this subconscious identifying, the sponsor proceeds to locate possible candidates based on professional criteria. The professional criteria used by the sponsor

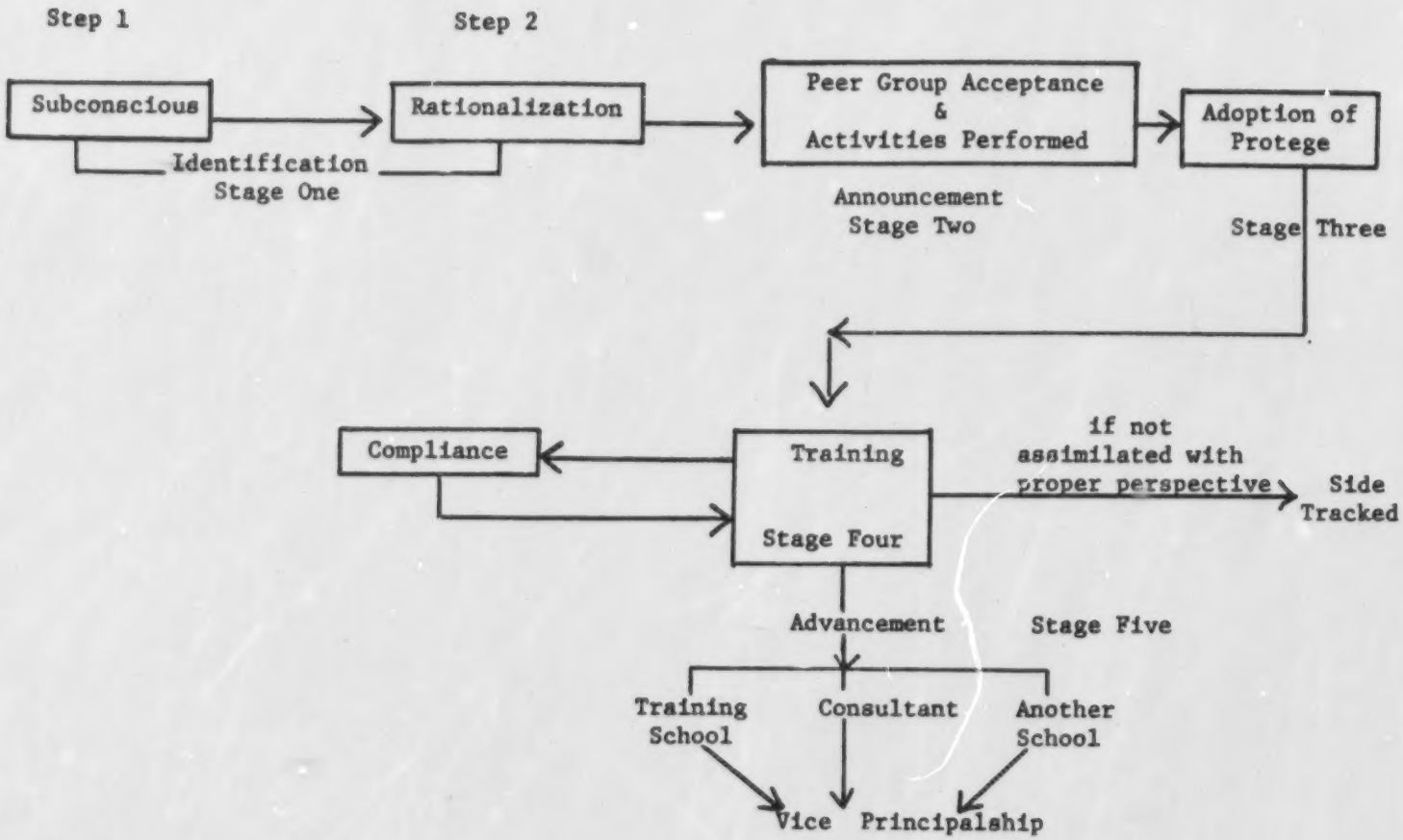

Figure 7
SPONSORSHIP MODE

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51a

is the same as the sponsor's administrative strengths. This second conscious identification act serves the purpose of rationalizing identification founded on professional standards. The significance of the two efforts revolves around the criteria used and its direct influence on the socialization process. The identification stage is the first step to the production of replication. By replication it is meant that sponsors by means of the sponsorship mode produce administrators in their own image. (The reader will apprehend how the thread of replication is interwoven throughout the sponsorship practice when socialization is discussed.) Consequently, sponsorship, the informal means of succession, is the operational avenue for socialization.

There is an intermediate and overlapping stage between identification and adoption which I have labeled announcement. By announcement, the researcher refers to the action taken by the teacher to declare his/her interest in becoming an administrator. At this time, the teacher is a candidate but not a protege of anyone. There are two ways that a person announces his/her candidacy, by verbally expressing his intention to the principal of the school or by undertaking additional extracurricular activities beyond the normal classroom duties. The latter way, assuming extra work, is the most effective means of gaining adoption. The latter practice has been verified by Daniel Griffiths as a step in the promotional stream in the New York public school district.[1] He aptly refers to the practice of the candidate expending himself as GASing, Getting the Attention of his Superior.[2] The major resolution of the

candidate's action is to get aid and support from his superior or, stated more simply, sponsored by his superior. Sponsor A, in recounting his route of entering administration, mentions the two ways of announcement.

> "I did seek out chairmanships. I would volunteer to be the guy who assisted the principal in setting up yard duty schedules. . .I would talk with other VPs. I would ask principals that I had gotten on friendly grounds through joining Phi Delta Kappa, 'What does it take to be an administrator?'"

His next statement speaks directly to the two ways of advertisement.

> ". . .people kind of tap you if you do one of two things: show that you are willing to be tapped or just come out and say, 'I am interested in administration and what do you think?'"

Sponsor B was asked "What are some of the things you use to identify a person?"

> ". . .people usually indicate to you that they're interested in something other than the classroom. I think there's two ways of going about it. Some people by nature will come to you and say, 'I'm interested in going beyond the teaching field. Could I have some additional experiences?' Then there's the other person who has outstanding abilities that are recognizable."

Sponsor D's remark points up the verbal declaration.

> "And I think it's good for a teacher, if he feels that confident, to come in and tell the principal, 'Look, I would like to go into administration. Take a look at me.' I have had persons do that."

It became apparent to the researcher that GASing was a necessary and a culminating variable used by the sponsor to determine selection. Simply expressing interest in wanting to become an administrator was not enough. First, if the candidate expressed his/her interest without some form of GASing, the sponsor would advise the candidate to assume some extra activities, the reason being that by GASing the candidate displayed two important factors, willingness and acceptability, both of which are crucial for selection. By the candidate undertaking extra duties, the sponsor is able to gauge his willingness which is equated with commitment. Also the willingness factor provides visible evidence of the candidate following suggestions offered by the sponsor. Willingness is one of several factors which plays an important part in socializing a protege into a replica of the sponsor. More will be said of willingness and its significance in the section labeled compliance. Acceptability has already been mentioned briefly in relation to passage. Before a sponsor initiates adoption, the candidate must demonstrate that he is acceptable to his fellow teachers. Acceptability, then, displays itself in the form of peer approval. Note what the sponsors say about peer approval as it relates to selection. Sponsor D,

> "Well, in the first place before I even view that person I make sure the faculty is with the person. Because I watch to see how he works with people. And if that person is working well with the faculty, he's going to be accepted."

Sponsor E made the following comment in answer to my probe about the school staff reaction to her assisting certain people in order for them to enter administration.

> "If you've chosen well, it doesn't play hardly any role. Because they themselves have chosen him. They probably have asked this person to do special things. He's already assumed leadership in their eyes."

The last comment, related to proclamation, shows that a sponsor will reroute a candidate to GASing if all he has done is expressed interest. Sponsor F,

> "What I have to tell him is, 'These are some steps that are involved in this process [advancement]. There are some experiences that you need and you can judge for yourself.' And I pass the buck, 'So these are some things that you need to get yourself involved with within the staff.' So it's the guy that's respected and selected by his peers to do the job."

Thus GASing, for the candidates, is mainly for the purpose of gaining the attention of his superior in the hopes of being supported. For the sponsor, GASing is used as a test for acceptability and willingness, both factors being critical ingredients for socialization of persons. In short the more willing a person is, the more receptive he or she will be to the sponsor's suggestion which will in turn assist in socializing him or her. Concurrently, the more acceptable the person attempts to be, the more amenable he or she will be to conforming to others' expectations, specifically significant others such as the sponsor.

After Stage I, identification, and the intermediate stage, announcement by the candidate, the sponsor makes a selection from the announced pool of candidates. Selection is limited to one or two candidates per sponsor. Some candidates are refused support while others are sidetracked to areas other than administration or asked to wait another year. Sponsor C states that part of his responsibility is to advise persons wanting to promote themselves into administration but who are not qualified by his standards not to make the effort.

> "Part of my help is to tell them they should not try. But if anyone has the gumption or guts to come and say, 'Look, I want to do this', well, then, I feel that I am obliged to help them."

Thus the above type person is allowed to proceed as a candidate but is not sponsored. As the sponsorship model crystallizes it will be recognized that an unsponsored person has less chance than a protege of entering administration and more likely little chance of promotion.

What will generally happen to an unsponsored person is that he/she will be advised to seek out another career such as supervision.

Sponsor D speaks of elimination with the following comment.

> "It's easy to stop a person before you get too involved with them by those two things, how well they get along with people and seeing the broad picture. You can see that, and you can point it out."

Sponsor F also speaks of eliminating "unqualified" persons who want support for admission to administration.

> "If you lay it on the line with people and do it objectively rather than subjectively or emotionally, I think most people are able to see it. And more than that, I think that they appreciate it because if it's something that they can move, they can change, they do it. They can't do that unless you level with them."

Hence a number of persons are eliminated from sponsorship. Those individuals that persist in wanting to advance are provided limited training experience making it difficult to pass the examination since their ratings will not be as favorable as proteges. Again most of the unsponsored candidates are advised to sidetrack themselves into a related field other than administration.

Since some candidates are discouraged while others are sidetracked and still others allowed to proceed without support, it is apparent that sponsorship is limited to a few persons. Reinforcing the aspect of limited numbers of proteges are the statements by the sponsors.

Sponsor A,

> "I could say that in the five years [at school] that we must have gotten at least twenty people, four a year which is a pretty good turnover into training schools."

Note the importance again of placing proteges into a training school, which is one step removed [in the sponsorship flow] from becoming a vice principal. Restated, the quote illustrates the sponsor's function of advancing the protege to a position which will leap-frog him into administration.

Sponsor B,

> "For every three persons wanting to go into administration I might encourage one."

Sponsor C,

> "I don't ask too many people because I have been rather selective. But everyone I have pushed is an administrator now, so I've selected well."

Sponsor D,

> "I've been very cautious about pulling anybody up. I do push people, but I push them when I'm sure."

Sponsor D's next remark like Sponsor C's comment not only highlights the restrictive number of proteges, but also shows that sponsorship does result in promotion. Sponsor D was expressing why he thought he was not an administrative coordinator today.

> "Had he, Dr. W., given me the support, I would have been a coordinator today, like Joe. Because I went up the same time as Joe did for coordinatorship. I wasn't smart enough to know that Dr. W. wasn't behind me."

"Why do you think he didn't give you the support?"

> "He had other people that he was supporting and then he can't support too many. He was supporting Joe, he was supporting Jane. He supported those two and those two made it."

The actual adoption is always initiated by the sponsor with an informal private conversation. Besides the symbolic passage from candidate to protege, the conversation is useful since it serves the function of reaching an understanding as to how they will interact during the time of coaching. The following quotes are for the purpose of showing that sponsors are the initiators and that a working understanding is reached by both parties.

Sponsor B,

> "Leadership will come out. When I see this, many times I approach people and ask them. 'Are you interested in doing something beyond the classroom?'"

His reference to leadership emerging is another reminder that a person will demonstrate his interest of seeking promotion by way of GASing.

Sponsor C,

> "I think I did more seeking out and encouraging than they [candidates] coming to me."

Sponsor D,

> "I usually go to them and tell them, 'I think you ought to go into administration."

Sponsor E speaks of the adoption by relating a typical conversation.

> "So it's just, 'Are you taking the courses? Yes. Are you interested? Yes. What can we do to help? Let's go.' Very informal thing."

Sponsor F,

> "When I see somebody who has a lot on the ball and they could sit in this chair, I tell them. That's the first thing I do, I tell them."

Sponsor A's comment was saved for last since it earmarks a number of points being made--the sponsor as the initiator, both parties reaching agreement, and, a point made earlier, the protege's receptivity.

> ". . .in talking with the principal, she was very outright, a forthright kind of peer group leader and she talked and I said, 'Yeah, my goal is to become an administrator.' I would do whatever was necessary to do this. And she said 'Fine'. So there was an understanding. She would lean on me to do things. For instance, I was the 'acting principal' whenever she was out of the building."

The above statement by sponsor A also marks the end of one stage, selection, and the commencement of the next phase of sponsorship, training. Notice that after the sponsor has initiated adoption, the protege is now provided with training experiences that are at the discretion of the principal. The type of activities assigned to the protege should not be measured in terms of knowledge, skills, and competencies learned. Rather the value of the activities is assessed by the amount of exposure offered. Exposure versus skills learned will better be understood after some of the activities are listed. What follows is a list of activities gathered from the sponsors interviewed based on what they recurringly kept identifying as training experiences: performing a demonstration lesson, leading inservice workshops, being

assigned acting principal, being chairman of various committees, being placed in charge of physical education programs, and setting up all types of schedules. All of these activities, some more than others, place the protege in settings visible to both school staff and outside personnel. The exposure to district personnel is richer in importance only because it yields more fruit. Placing the protege in various experiences for the sake of learning needed information and skills is secondary for the sponsor. The protege will accrue administrative competencies but as a result of 'spin-off'. That is to say, the training phase of the sponsorship mode is primarily directed to make the protege acceptable to significant others. Acceptability revolves around exposure. It was mentioned earlier when discussing selection that one of the factors used by sponsors to select proteges was acceptability. The assumption is that if a candidate can gain the approval of his peers, then he has the capability of gaining the approval of administrators, provided he has access to them.

During the interviews with all the sponsors, it was noticed that their dialogue concentrated not on the skills or necessary information the activities would provide to the protege, but instead the concern was focused on who would view the protege displaying his/her talents. A perfect example that reflects each of the sponsor's focus on exposure is provided by Sponsor A speaking on one frequently mentioned activity, namely demonstration lesson.

> ". . .more importantly they used the good teachers for the demonstration lesson. So if your principal tapped you to start doing demonstration lessons, then you kind of had your foot in the door. Because the principals would come and see you."

For the protege, the acquiring of knowledge and skills is secondary. For them the primary concern with training experiences is with accumulating the various activities. The exercises are steps or routines to go through. They view the importance of these activities as avenues to gain access to other administrators in the hopes of establishing friendships. Again a quote from Sponsor A reveals quite clearly the protege's point of view. Sponsor A was speaking of his experiences when he was seeking administration.

> "I looked for the opportunities as they came up and did not turn down anything that would <u>lead</u> to it." [emphasis mine]

Therefore, the training experiences being sought out by the protege and being offered by the sponsor are more for the purpose of leading to entrance by means of acceptability and not for obtaining competencies to become an effective administrator.

Furthermore, as the protege nears the end of his/her apprenticeship the secondary concern of learning administrative skills becomes even less. Note the comment by Sponsor D,

> "Yeah, they were well on their way at that time. But they wanted an experience in a school that was going to give them a few more brownie points."

Acceptability and exposure are connected together as an interlocking unit. The premise is that if a protege is going to obtain approval by administrators, then he/she will find it necessary to have access to administrators. That exposure is orientated at purchasing acceptance, can be verified by the statements made by the sponsors. Sponsor D speaks directly to the aspect of acceptability.

> ". . .and if that person is working well with the faculty, he's going to be accepted. Usually a faculty chairman to begin with. Not all faculty chairman are respected, but that's one of the things that tells you pretty well he's accepted by other teachers. And how well the teachers accept his teaching too, has a lot to do with it. He can be accepted a lot of times by the teachers, but do they respect his teaching? And I think these two things, then, put you on pretty solid grounds with anybody to defend what you do."

The last sentence in the above citation also extracts the short range benefit of acceptability. If a sponsor selects a candidate that has already demonstrated peer approval, then he will receive positive reaction by the school staff. The direct implication is that staff morale will not be impaired. Sponsor E addressed herself to the connection between proper selection and staff reaction or the short range benefit of acceptability.

> "The resentment increases to the degree that the person who is going to be a leader is ill-chosen."

Sponsor F speaks of acceptance as the factor for advancement.

> ". . .the guy that wants to get ahead is the guy that's buttering up his buddies so that he gets into some leadership role."

The significance of training, executed so as to derive exposure and acceptability, is appreciated by understanding the role it plays in maintaining the succession socialization process. In regards to socialization, excessive contact with significant others for the objective of acceptance dictates that the protege's behavior be pleasing, agreeable, and conforming. Consequently, the protege's apprenticeship results in codified behavior that mirrors the administrative reference group he/she is attempting to enter.

As for succession, the more activities a protege accumulates the better the possibility of successfully passing the promotional examination. The district examination is pivotal around two components, training experiences and ratings. The protege will be assured of receiving excellent ratings by significant administrators provided he demonstrates compliance to their norms. Hence, sponsorship, the informal promotional means, is extremely effective since it is not only synchronized with the legitimate district promotional process, but also dominates over the examination. Finally, the overemphasis with adult contact and interaction does assist the protege to develop competency in human relations. Interpersonal relations is an important administrative skill necessary in order to function effectively as a principal. On a practical basis, then, the protege does learn a priority skill. Concluding, the training operation efficiently serves the succession socialization process in a harmonious manner.

The final stage of the informal promotional stream is advancement. After the sponsor has provided all of the training experiences and coaching within his/her organizational boundary to the protege, his next act is to place the protege in a position that will almost assure entrance into administration. The usual and normal pattern is to route the protege in one of three positions, (1) transfer to another school that has different characteristics (student ethnic composition, geographic location within the district, staff size, principal who has sponsor's reputation, etc.), (2) transfer to a training school, (3) or to a district consultant's job.

In the past, of three placements, the assignment to a teacher training school as a training teacher almost guaranteed promotion into administration. Presently, the training school assignment still carries a great deal of value in regards to promotion but not to the extent of five to ten years ago. With the infusion of federal funds, a large number of positions with administrative duties have been created. Consequently, with more possibilities, training schools have lost some of their monopolistic hold. The importance of placing a protege into a training school is readily seen by the sponsor's statements. Sponsor A,

> "You had to be a training teacher because nobody ever made it without having been a training teacher."

Sponsor D,

> "The best thing to do is to move them to a training school."

Sponsor F,

> "Logically, at that time, training school was the spot to go into."

Sponsor E provides the reader with a statement which tells why assignment to a training school almost guaranteed promotion into the first line of administration, the vice principalship.

> "There were so few training schools they [training teachers] all made it."

The training school provides invaluable exposure to proteges since principals from all parts of the district come to observe the new methods in instruction and curriculum which are conducted by teachers seeking administration. Principals also come to recruit student teachers to fill vacant positions and in the process speak with the training teachers. Quite clearly the training school provides to the protege all that is needed both formally and informally in order to advance.

The consultantship also inherently provides the same type of resources to the protege as the training school, exposure to district wide administrators, performing in a leadership capacity, etc.

The third option, transfer to another school, is the less desirable because it takes longer for the protege to advance. Selection of another school is grounded on two indices, one of them key. First, the school must provide for the candidate a different setting so that when examination time comes his/her record indicates capability of functioning

in any situation. Appearing to have the quality of adaptability is important for a candidate since the school district prides itself in selecting individuals that are able to operate in any assignment through out the district's boundary. But more importantly, the principal at the school must be willing to support the incoming protege by "pushing" him/her. Within the sponsorship network, key schools are identified on the basis of the principal's reputation of helping persons enter administration. Notice is given by Sponsor D's statement.

> ". . .certain schools are more advantageous for persons that want to go into administration than others. So part of my responsibility is to pick the schools."

Again, circumstantially, the reader is reminded of the sponsor's network importance.

The final step in advancement is passing the district's examination successfully. After advancing the protege to some other position, the sponsor's contact with the protege is continued although it is sporadic. There are two reasons which help continue the sponsor-protege relationship: One, during the apprenticeship a bond of friendship and trust is solidified, naturally impelling the protege to seek the sponsor's counsel whenever needed, secondly, the sponsor still has the obligation of protection and ratings to perform as a service to his protege.

While the sponsorship mode was being described, explanation was interspersed for the intent of analyzing why the informal promotional process was operative. What remains to be addressed is the prime reason

why promotion within the Los Angeles School District, based on social interaction rather than on professional qualities, is allowed to continue. By elaborating on the broader contributions sponsorship yields, explanation will be enhanced.

The sponsorship mode is supported because of the numerous organizational needs it fulfills. Sponsorship contributes and encompasses more than just the narrow function of promotion. That is to say, the sponsorship mode suffices more than the one vital organizational need of recruitment, selection, and distribution of personnel.

The succession socialization process assists in satisfying two primary needs of an organization--stability and product. Stability is dependent upon the organization establishing a systematic process that will answer the deployment of personnel into vacant positional roles resulting in benefits for both the organization and the employee. If an organization is to maintain its stability, compatability between the task and the position holder is essential. Likewise, it is this matching of organizational need with human capability that allows products to be rendered. In the case of education the product is service to children. The sponsorship mode masterfully captures both these organizational factors. First, it is by nature established to promote individuals into administration. Secondly, by means of its execution, the protege is molded to function in a compatible manner with the position and other administrators. In turn, stability and service is rendered to the district. The valuableness of sponsorship is vividly expressed by one of

the sponsors. Although it directly reveals much of the above points, the greater implications can readily be perceived. Appropriately Sponsor A states,

> "So we were able to push people. Now, of course, once you do that then the word gets around that if you really want people to appreciate you, you go to these schools where they'll push you rather than hold you back, and it pays off. It really does because then you get good replacements for the people you push and people are willing to come. Good experienced teachers are willing to come because they know you will give them a shove."

Summarizing, succession is by an unofficial means commonly referred to as sponsorship. Sponsorship facilitates socialization. The remaining sections of this chapter will describe and explain the socialization of proteges as they progress through sponsorship.

PART II

Socialization: Regeneration of Self

Replication of the protege into the mold of the sponsor is the product of succession socialization. Specifically, succession socialization produces replication by four means, identifying candidates in one's own image, duplicating the sponsor's training on the protege, shaping a protege's administrative perspective to resemble the sponsor's, and controlling by the compliance mechanism.

In stage one, identification, a sponsor first spots a person as a potential administrator on the basis of traits the individual may display which are closely related to the sponsor's own traits. Step one is a subconscious act since the sponsor is not aware of his initial spotting or the implication of his early screening. The second step of identification takes the form of the sponsor checking to see if the teacher meets the sponsor's criteria of administrative skills. The two steps of stage one, then, result in identifying a possible candidate in the sponsor's own image.

Stage two, training, has two parts, but they are not separable in practice only in analysis. Part one refers to the information provided to the protege by the sponsor. Being more specific, it is the information both formal and informal that is explained by the sponsor to

the protege causing the aspirant to progress smoothly through training. The experiences that the protege undergoes during training is the second half. The opportunities offered by the sponsor are generally the same as the activities the sponsor underwent as a candidate during his training.

The purpose of training is to develop an administrative perspective within the protege that is typically representative of the sponsor's. By instilling an identical perspective in the protege, the effect is a replica of the sponsor's way of operating.

Finally the compliance mechanism used in sponsorship holds the protege captured under the control of the sponsor and other significant administrators.

It is by these four means that the finished product, the protege, results in a replica of the producer, the sponsor.

A. Stage One

Identification

Step One: Subconsciously Identifying Proteges in One's Own Image

Step one of identification is when the sponsor initially spots a possible candidate out of the teaching pool. This initial screening generally is before the protege's GASing phase. A possible explanation for the spotting before the person shows a willingness to enter administration, is that the sponsor is performing this action subconsciously.

The hypothesis is that step one, unconscious identifying, is not generally perceived to be part of the selection process by the sponsor. Examination of some statements by sponsors will verify the existence of this subconscious first step.

Subconsciously, the sponsor is initially spotting individuals having traits that are characteristically reflective of his own. The traits are generally those which the sponsor attributes to his being successful in becoming and performing as an effective administrator. To elaborate, selected quotes from each sponsor appropriate to the point are provided.

Sponsor A is distinguished from the other sponsors by the fact that he is goal oriented. When asking why he continued without a respite for his advanced degree in education and his administrative credentials, he replied,

> "When I decided I wasn't going into law, that I was going definitely into education, I did some introspective thinking and decided what my role and goal in education would be. Then I just set up the goal for myself to be an administrator within ten years from my teaching time."

Then, when asked how he picks a person out from the massive crowd, he answered,

> "I think self-selecting. I think they pick themselves out by rising above the crowd in the way they operate and the way they work. You get the self-selection ones, which I kind of described myself as being last time, where you have a goal, you know where you're going and so you make it known to people."

Since Sponsor B lasted sixteen years in a teaching or consultant capacity, it is not difficult to understand why he stresses extensive and broad experiences for preparation of administrators.

> "I personally feel that preparation for administration in general is obtaining a broad background of having worked in industry, having worked with people extensively, worked extensively while going through college, etc. All of these things added to my preparation for administration.

Then, when asked 'What are some of the things that you use to identify a person?' he responded,

> ". . .so both ways, both people who come to you and people that you seek out too. But I think, to me, the best test of whether I feel a person has the potential to be a good administrator is to go through many, many varied experiences and see how they perform in the experiences that they take."

Thus, Sponsor B identifies people after they have gone through a great number of experiences as he did.

When Sponsor C was asked 'What indicators are there that tell you this is the kind of person that's probably going to be an administrator?', he replied,

> "Well, I don't know. I think what happens is that you tend to computerize lots of things, lots of sublimal things all together. For example, does she talk the same as other successful teachers? What light goes across her face when I say certain key words and other types of things?"

When asked how he approaches people that he is interested in helping enter administration, his reply was revealing in relation to subconscious identification. He stated,

> "What I usually do is find someone that strikes my particular fancy, and say, 'Are you interested in administration?' I don't do that with too many people because I have been rather selective. But everyone I have pushed is an administrator, so I've selected well."

The use of the word 'fancy' is not used frivolously; this is substantiated by his successful results. It is easy to comprehend that what one does without directly thinking about it is well known.

Sponsor D is conscious of his identification of people based on his personal strength--relating to people. What he is not aware of is that by using this quality he is taking the first step in molding an administrator in his own image. He believes that the ability to relate to people is a legitimate administrative skill needed by all administrators if they are to operate effectively. In fact later in this chapter the art of relating to people will be well supported. Even though he is conscious of identifying persons with a skill he values highly, he is unaware of its implications.

> "I look at the personal aspect before I ever look at the academic background of the person."

Thus Sponsor D reflects step two of the identification stage.

Sponsor E does elevate the subconscious identifying step to the conscious level. However, because she makes the most explicit statement supporting the hypothesis of sponsors identifying potential candidates in their own image, she shall be included in this section. In response to

the question 'What is it that you look for in potential administrators?', she stated,

> "Probably a vision of me. That's a terrible thing to say, but I think it's an honest thing to say. Anyone who is like me is a born leader."

It should be made clear that the sponsors are not looking for persons that reflect them physically but professionally in their attitude and behavior. The physical resemblances may play a part as written about in business executive studies but there is no indication in these interviews.

Sponsor F is probably the best illustration of a sponsor identifying a candidate on a subconscious level. Sponsor F takes pride in being an administrator who gets the job done. The following was posed to him, 'There have been times, I suppose, where you have seen people that you thought were worthy of becoming an administrator. What is it you look for?' He replied,

> "When I see somebody who has a lot on the ball and they could sit in this chair, I tell them. Now, when I say sit in this chair, I am very well aware that no two people do the same thing the same way. There are lots of principals who are exceptionally fine people and do good jobs as administrators. They function much differently than I function."

Note that he stresses differences and not replication, but significantly, his one identifying trait is--'somebody who has a lot on the ball.'

His subconscious attraction is better illustrated in the following statement. When asked 'What about a person that comes to you and

says, 'I want to get into administration.'? How do you size that person up?', he answered,

> "The first thing that you have to do, at least this is what I do, is try to look at them doing the job with their qualities. I don't believe that you select a principal or select someone to be an administrator and expect them to do it your way. I think that's very foolhardy to build someone in your own image, because they have strengths that I don't have."

Again Sponsor F argues for diversity yet again his lone quality for identification is doing the job. Later it will be shown that Sponsor F does in fact train people to do the job as he does. He is not aware of his subconscious identifying of persons with the trait that he considers to be his strong point. To highlight this subconscious identification, the following quote is appropriate. The interviewer asked Sponsor F, 'Do you have a different set of criteria as to how you look at people that may be future administrators compared with how you look at hiring good teachers? Is the criteria the same or is it different?' His reply was that 'if there was a correlation, it was a negative one.' He then proceeded to describe an exception.

> "I can remember one of the people that's now an administrator. On day one I saw her as a doer, a mover, she was a ball of fire and anytime that I would make a suggestion to her, it was done. Whatever it was, she would immediately do it. Now, I think I was much the same way coming up. Someone made a suggestion to me and the same day I would get it done. I think that successful administrators are doers. Administrators make it happen.

It is thus apparent that sponsors subconsciously identify candidates on the basis of their strengths. Any candidate seeking adoption who displays the traits that a particular sponsor exhibits will be easily identified for training.

To further substantiate subconscious attraction, Wilbert E. Moore writes that much of the selectivity practiced within the educational system is informal and unconscious.[3] The implication, he hypothesizes, is that normative internalization takes place only in situations marked by strong affectivity in relationships. Thus the closer the protege matches the sponsor the stronger the relationship to be developed. It has already been expressed and more will be said on why a strong relationship is very important in the training stage. Sponsors are constantly offering suggestions as to what to do and not to do. The more the protege responds to these suggestions the easier movement through training will be.

Howard S. Becker and Anselm L. Strauss also lend support for the thread of subconscious identification. They state that recruitment is begun in advance of selection.[4] Their stage of recruitment can be equated with the first stage of identification. They go on to state that organizations establish ways of systematically restricting the pool of candidates for advancement. One established way is based on the use of personality assessments. Here the support is not for the subconscious act so much as it is for identification on the basis of personal qualities. A stronger and more appropriate statement about subconscious identification is made when they remark,

> "To the individual in the inner fraternity, a protege eases the transition into retirement, that is, producing young men in his own image."[5]

Therefore, it appears that the first step of identification is subconscious and is grounded on personal traits that reflect the sponsor's own qualities. The importance of this initial screening based on the identification of self is seen in the training phase where the protege will be offered suggestions as to how to operate in certain activities granted by the sponsor.

Step Two

Identification by Administrative Skills

Step two is the conscious identification of a possible protege by a sponsor on the basis of professional skills. The manifest function of step two is to make the sponsor aware of a possible protege whom he may want to adopt for sponsorship. The latent function of step two is to rationalize the subconscious identification. It may seem illogical to have the reader accept the contention that a sponsor rationalizes what he is unaware of doing. However, with the use of the sponsor's remarks in regards to identification, it will become clear that the rationalization hypothesis has basis for formulation. This second stage is not a mere formality since the criteria used is supportive of the replication process. Each sponsor uses professional criteria that reflects his/her administrative skills. Although each sponsor interviewed

distinguished himself from the others by focusing on one particular skill, it is important to note (for future reference) that all of them stressed two major administrative skills--relating to people and making decisions. A third skill was implied by most and explicitly stated by one sponsor--accomplishing the task. Let us read how each sponsor addressed himself to this issue of identification on a conscious professional basis.

Sponsor A who subconsciously identifies a candidate on a goal oriented basis, provided the following professional criteria for the purpose of identifying possible future administrators.

> "Primarily, of course, being a Mexican-American, how they treated kids and the parents. I think that's the main thing, if they really liked kids, and you could see how their interpersonal relationships work. We administrators have to be people oriented that is how one really thinks and feels about the kids."

The administrative criteria used by Sponsor A to identify proteges is human relations.

Sponsor B very early in his first interview focused on the primary necessity of administrators having to make decisions. His ability to make decisions was developed while he was in the service as an officer.

> "I think that my experiences in the Navy were very appropriate to my ability to make decisions. I was an officer in command which required me to make definitive decisions and precise decisions."

Sponsor B then continues to elaborate on another important administrative skill necessary for success as an administrator--working with people.

> "I also think that a broad background of experience in life is important to working with people. I worked for the U. S. Forest Service for four different summers. I worked in the U. S. Post Office during Christmas vacations. I worked on construction crews. I think all of these experiences help a person to understand people, if you don't understand people you shouldn't be in administration."

The other major emphasis for Sponsor B is that of both the development and the implementation of curriculum. During his five years as a district wide consultant his responsibility was to 'help work with the curriculum committee on the establishment of new equipment lists, to provide the equipment to carry on the new educational program that the new curriculum called for'. When asked 'During your teaching experience, both your elementary and secondary, what do you remember as being highlights? What are your strengths?', he replied, 'Well, I think a broad cross-section of curriculum was extremely important.' He states that as a vice principal he spent considerable time helping teachers with curriculum.

> "I did spend quite a bit of time in curriculum, although not as an administrator, but as a co-worker with teachers who were helping develop the material. My second experience as a vice principal was doing many of the functions-staff development, curriculum development, organization of the school, working with personnel."

Then when asked what the abilities needed to be an administrator of a school were, he replied,

> "The ability to make decisions, the ability to organize, to understand people, to understand curriculum, to understand children. . ."

It is these administrative abilities, which coincided with his professional repertoire, that he uses to identify a potential administrator.

Sponsor C's major focus is relating to people which is apparent in the following question and answer. 'Of your six years of teaching experience, what really stands out as maybe being some skills that you found were valuable as an administrator?' He answered,

> ". . .in trying to identify what are some of the qualities you have to have, I'll say you have to like what you're doing, that's obvious, and you have to like people. But you have to more than like people, you have to respect people. You have to respect their abilities and their capabilities, and you also have to work within their limitations."

Sponsor C also stresses two major assets he had that others while teaching didn't have--maturity and experience. These two factors plus his colleagues' rapid recognition of their value allowed him to advance into administration rather quickly. He remarks,

> "All the teachers in the schools were sure I was going to be a principal. And I had people who said 'When you get to be a principal I want to teach for you.' That was my first year. Don't forget I was thirty-five years old and I had a head start on many of the young boys starting in. And, of course, I had years of experience in the business world and the professional world--confidence and maturity."

Administratively, Sponsor C characterizes his style of leadership as 'benevolent paternalism, benevolent despotism'. He describes it thusly,

> "I feel that I absolutely am the ruler of the roost if you want to put it down as bluntly as that, because I'm the one whose neck falls. In other words, I make no apologies for making decisions, when I make a decision. Now, I'm paid to make the decision."

Finally, when Sponsor C was asked, 'How do you measure teachers for administration?' he replied.

> ". . .a teacher who really is definitely interested in the whole profession of teaching, someone who likes children, someone who likes people, who has the ability to make difficult decisions because ultimately you have to live with the reason and, in fact, the board looks upon you to make decisions."

> ". . .having an inner feeling of I guess it comes down to self-esteem and what you think of yourself. I may have been the worst damn principal in the world but I knew that I was going to be and was a terrific principal. I knew it. I acted that way. I was confident."

Thus Sponsor C identified the same professional criteria that he himself honors, (human relations, confidence, and decision making) in order to identify a potential administrator. In step one, it was noted that Sponsor D was conscious to a degree of his identifying a potential administrator by employing a trait that was his own mainstay. What he was not conscious of was the implication--producing an administrator in one's own image. When quizzed with 'You mentioned there

were some people you really thought should go into administration, what are the determinants?', his response was,

> "Well, I think you watch the way they really work. First, the way they work with people is really basic, I think. Then, I begin to look and see what he has to offer academically or professionally. I look at the personal aspect before I even look at the academic background of the person. Here again, I think that probably has a lot to do with the sociological background that I've had because I always look at people first before I look to see what they really have to offer. I see how they relate."

Sponsor D illustrates the flip side of the selection process--elimination--also based on the same identifying trait. For example he states,

> "And I have stopped more people from going into administration just because they can't get along with people."

Since Sponsor E has raised the subconscious step of identification to the conscious level, it becomes a question of asking her what she considers herself to be. From her self description we are aware of the criteria she uses to identify possible future administrators. When asked 'What is that image?', she responded with 'the ability to learn, intelligence, and a sound personality.'

The function of step two is to rationalize by use of professional criteria the sponsor's subconscious identification of a potential protege. Most of the sponsors believe that the criteria they use

are necessary for an administrator to perform adequately. Sponsor E is no different. Remembering that she spent half of her teaching career as a training teacher, she justifies her standards by stating,

> "All of the attributes that are in a good teacher--fairness, knowledge of what you're doing, ability to work with a large group--all of these things are leadership qualities."

For Sponsor F the administrative skills needed by school leaders to operate successfully are the characteristics he uses to identify a protege. As the others, the skills he identifies are the same as his major strengths. As was mentioned before, Sponsor F takes pride in getting the job done. It is this ability that propelled him into administration along with his ability to work with people. Getting the job done is what won him recognition in the eyes of the superintendent, and it was his consultantship which provided him with the best preparation for the principalship. Now after seventeen years as a principal, his staff sees his strength as working with people and making decisions. In response to a question concerning measuring a person for administration, Sponsor F provided the following information.

> "So using their strengths, I think I look at them in terms of can they get something done, can they make a decision? And of course, it is taken for granted that they are able to work with people."

His professional criteria correlates perfectly with his self profile as an administrator.

Summarizing, it becomes apparent that each sponsor identifies a candidate on the professional criteria that are reflective of his administrative skills. This identification on the basis of mirrored strengths is rationalized in two ways: first, the criteria used is what each sponsor perceives as making him effective, if not successful, throughout his administrative career, and secondly, the qualities as expressed are essential if an administrator is to function in the performance of his duties. Again the reader is reminded that each sponsor interviewed isolated two skills for focus--relating to people and decision making. The action of rationalizing the possible selection is not a unique occurrence. On the contrary, rationalization is a frequent practice in the professional arena. In support, Wilbert E. Moore notes that the emphasis on selectivity is on the matching of personal and occupational requirements.[6]

Summarizing stage one--identification--it appears that screening is the result of two acts, subconscious and conscious. From the interviews, it seems that the process is most likely linear, i.e., subconscious spotting followed by rationalization on the basis of professional criteria (see Figure 8). However, there is not enough information to rule out other possibilities such as subconscious spotting and rationalization occurring other than in linear fashion (see Figure 9-1). Another linear possibility may be the reverse order, for example, the conscious identifying on professional criteria with subconscious identifying following to confirm 'proper' selection. (See Figure 9-2) It is certain that

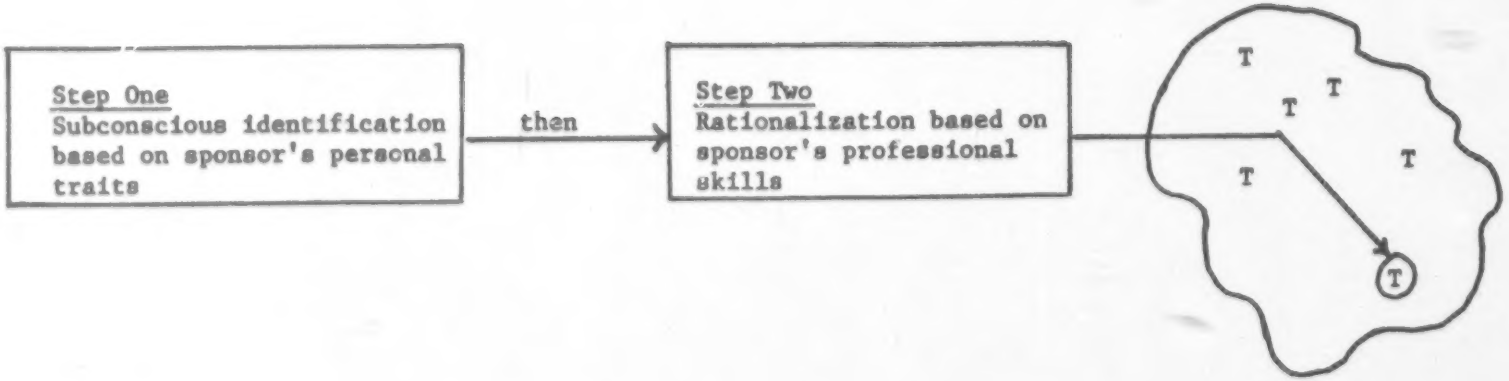

Figure 8

LINEAR IDENTIFICATION OF CANDIDATE

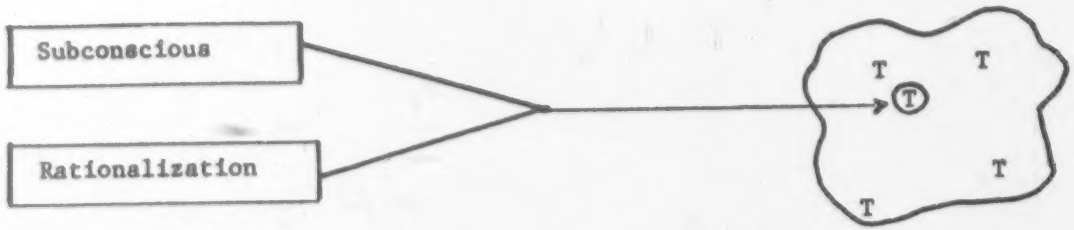

Figure 9-1

SIMULTANEOUS IDENTIFICATION

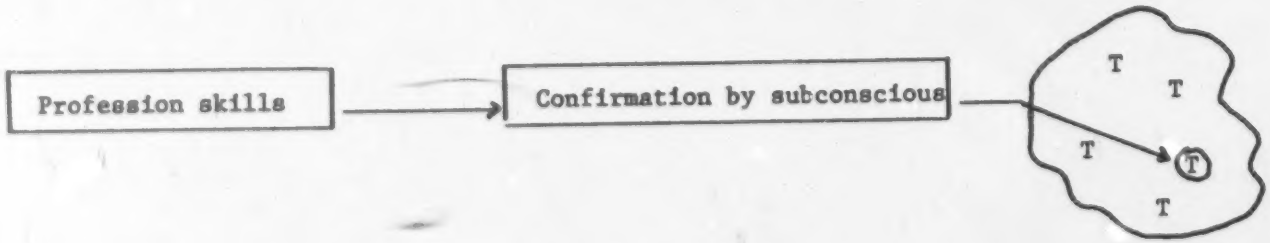

Figure 9-2

LINEAR IDENTIFICATION REVERSED

T = Teacher

(T) = Identified Protege

some sponsors combine the subconscious identifying of a potential candidate with the rationalization step. For example, Sponsor D and, in particular, Sponsor E identify a person in their own image by rationalizing that their strengths are what a successful administrator will need in order to be effective. It is also quite clear that most of the sponsors believe that there is one step to identification of an administrative candidate which is based on professional criteria. (See Figure 9-3) However, there is substantial evidence to formulate that sponsors do identify potential proteges based on the sponsor's personal and professional qualities in a linear fashion, from subconsciousness to consciousness. (See Figure 8)

The importance of the identification stage becomes apparent when viewed within the socialization process. Socialization as defined by Edgar Schein is

> "the process by which a new member learns the value system, the norms, and the required behavior patterns of the society, organization, or group which he is entering."[7]

Since the protege will be learning most, if not all, the values, norms, and behavior patterns of the administrative group from his sponsors, it becomes vital that a close relationship be established. The practice of identifying a protege in the image of the sponsor helps to internalize within the protege the norms and behavior patterns of the sponsor. The implication of selection based on duplication is that proteges will be very receptive to suggestions and information given by

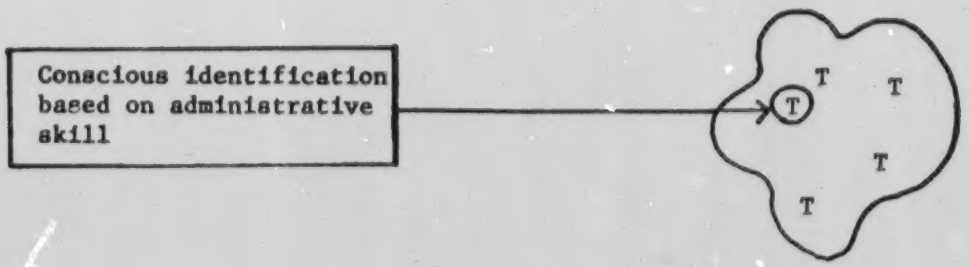

Figure 9-3

SPONSOR'S PERCEPTION OF IDENTIFICATION PROCESS

the sponsor, as will be demonstrated in the training phase. This willingness to please helps carry one step further the socialization of the protege by the sponsor.

B. Stage Two

Shaping the Protege in the Sponsor's Mold

After identifying a candidate in the sponsor's own image, the second major force helping to mold a replica is the training a protege undergoes. Training consists of the sponsor providing cognitive information and supervisory activities to the protege. It is these two components that develop within the protege an administrative perspective which determines his operation as an administrator. It is in the training phase that the protege loses his teacher's point of view and acquires his administrative 'understanding'. The training stage is probably the most powerful agent in transforming the protege into the likeness of his administrative reference group. Forming a person's thoughts and behavior patterns in the likeness of administrators, particularly his sponsor, is accomplished by having him experience duplicating experiences. The thread that was discovered is best stated as: During training the protege undergoes a routine of experiences that are similar to the patterned experiences the sponsor underwent when he was vying for administration. The effectiveness of the sponsor/protege training is best illustrated with a statement from Sponsor A, "But I

think probably having been with that gal [his principal] for five years helped shape me."

It is within this training stage that all four elements of the socialization matrix are in operation. Alex Inkeles identifies the four elements as (a) issue, the typical life condition or social demand which dominates the attention of socializee and socializers, (b) the agent, those individuals and social units or organizations which typically play the greatest role in processing the individual, (c) the objectives, the qualities agents wish to inculcate and the conditions under which they prefer to train the socializee, and (d) the task, the problem or skill to be learned.[8]

Framing the four elements of the socialization matrix in context for this study, they translate as follows: The issue is the sponsor protege relationship or the interaction of the two roles; the agent is the sponsor; the objective is the developing of an administrative perspective within the protege; and the task is polishing the administrative skills used by sponsors to identify potential candidates, those skills being human relations and decision making. The focus of this section will be on two of the four elements, the objective and the agent. Earlier an entire section, sponsorship model described and expanded, was devoted to the aspect of the issue. The remaining matrix, task, has been addressed indirectly throughout the entire writing. I shall describe how the two elements of the socializing matrix are practiced in the sponsor-protege relationship of an educational organization.

Sponsor A describes his administrative training as

> ". . .understanding that I had already designed my goals, there was some kind of self-directiveness to look for opportunities. So after I got my Master's I had the time and I sought out a chairmanship, I got acquainted with 'what the steps were to go through the chairs'; I volunteered to assist the principal in setting up yard duty schedules; I wouldn't turn down serving as a grade level chairman or faculty chairman. . .Now in terms of saying I knew that this is what would count, I would talk with other vice-principals and to friendly administrators and ask, 'what does it take to be an administrator'? because I really had that goal. I looked for the opportunities as they came up and did not turn down anything."

When Sponsor A was asked 'What was it that you tried to stress to people in preparation for a principalship?' he replied,

> "I tried to give them the kind of opportunities that I had been given."

When followed by the question 'What other things did you say that you believed they needed in order for them to become administrators?' he remarked,

> "I would share what I had learned, that there are certain things you need to do. Especially to those who were perhaps unaware, I would say, 'Well, you need to do some of these things so if an opportunity comes, volunteer.'"

Sponsor B describes his training for administration as being an 'extensive preparation'. Remembering that Sponsor B did not enter administration until after sixteen years in the teaching ranks, it is easy to see why he recurringly stresses the extensive and intensive

experiences undertaken both in and out of education. With this in mind, notice the statement he makes in response to the question 'What is it you try to stress to administrative candidates?'.

> ". . .as broad an experience as you can get, most importantly, meaningful participation--not serving on committees but taking leadership in curriculum development committees, school organization committees, health committees, guidance committees--working extensively after school with children's playground activities, having broad experiences in the actual teaching fields such as teaching opportunity rooms, grade levels (at least third, fifth, and sixth). Study the organization of a school--the whole thing. It might take you several nights and several weekends but you learn a lot by doing this."

He also remarks that,

> ". . .after you've taught two or three years you should get into the development of curriculum."

The reader should note that Sponsor B's career line shows that after teaching three years on the elementary level, he became a consultant for five years working with curriculum. (See Appendix A-B)

Sponsor C when interviewed did not mention the training process in the way the others did. Instead Sponsor C's focus was on the development of the administrative perspective. Thus in the section to follow which directs itself to the formation of an administrative perspective, Sponsor C will be emphasized. However, without interview data, it cannot be assumed that Sponsor C does not practice duplication during the training process. Conversely, there is enough dialogue data already

provided in previous pages from which one can speculate that Sponsor C does follow the pattern of most sponsors, including the duplication of training activities.

Sponsor D's statements are revealing in a number of ways. Sponsor D's remarks illustrate that opportunities are at the discretion of the sponsor and that a protege must be receptive and act on the suggestion of the sponsor (if he desires to progress in his administrative training). Further the content and structure of the activities that the protege is to experience are under the control of the sponsor. In response to a question on training, Sponsor D stated,

> "You take your administrative duties and you start giving them opportunities to work at all of these different duties, for instance, working as a grade level coordinator, assigning special duties like taking care of the PE program and setting up schedules. Then as they begin to get a little more proficient, letting them attend some of the meetings with me and sometimes letting them go in place of me, gradually trying to get them to do everything that I, as a principal do. Eventually, they're doing exactly what I am doing."

He continues,

> "This actually is not a check list of everything. It is a list of broad areas. I just go through the sequence in my own way, and I sit in and watch them. And a lot of times they tend to simulate what I've done."

With Sponsor D the stress is not so much on doing the activities that he went through but more on the <u>manner</u> he believes is appropriate for handling.

Sponsor E's training consisted of four years as a training teacher. As she states,

> "In eight years I never taught the same grade. So I did get a tremendously broad background of teaching experiences."

When asked, 'what was the pattern at that time to go into administration?' she responded with 'multiple teaching experience, particularly with training school assignments'. Then when asked 'what kind of activities do you provide for candidates in their training?', her reply was,

> "Well, I think experience, just plain, overwhelming, multiple experience. And I'm a great believer that you cannot learn from or by other things other than experience. But then I'm using my own personal background and experience."

Like the other sponsors, Sponsor E does follow the practice of training proteges in a manner similar to her own training.

Sponsor F is a good example illustrating the duplicate training pattern perpetuated by each set of sponsor-protege relationships. When asked, 'you had four schools in eight years, why so many moves?', he replied, 'I was assigned there by the superintendent. . .each time to do a specific job.' When the line of questioning continued, he responded,

> "I think that the superintendent felt there was a job to be done so she sent me over there."

During the interviews with Sponsor F it became apparent that he was in fact the superintendent's protege. The above quote supports the reality of sponsorship. In response to a question of training, Sponsor F revealed his mode of operation as,

> "And each of those times people came in on tranfers to do a special job because if something wasn't going well in the school I went to the superintendent and said 'I need somebody for this job. Who do you have in mind to do this?'"

Sponsor F as a protege was trained by being placed in different places to do a certain job. As a sponsor, he trains his proteges by giving them certain jobs to do. In addition, Sponsor F also helps to highlight training by duplicate experiences with the following statements. He was asked 'how would you characterize your vice-principal's experience?' His answer was,

> "Great, it was unique. We kind of broke the mold. So we really, I suppose, functioned as two administrators in the school, making the same decisions depending on who was there at the time that the action was."

He continued to discuss his role as a principal in relation to training his vice-principals for the principalship.

> ". . .and I feel the same about vice-principals and I've never been in this school without a vice-principal. But my feeling about the vice-principalship is still the same as it was then, I think it's two administrators doing the same job."

Sponsor F's statements do illustrate that he patterns his training for others after his training which he adopted from his sponsor.

C. Explanation

There are three possible reasons why sponsors train their proteges in the manner that they themselves were trained. They are successfulness, familiarity, and purpose. The most likely explanation as to why sponsors train proteges with duplicate experiences is based on a combination of all three reasons. By successfulness, it is meant that sponsors want to train their proteges in a manner that will allow them to be effective on-the-job administrators, and even more immediate, trained in a fashion that will make them acceptable for promotion. If the sponsor's training was successful in getting them into administration and useful in their becoming successful administrators, then it only follows that this form of training which worked for them surely would be worthwhile for their proteges. Sponsor A provides the reader with the best proof of this assumption. In regards to his training as a vice-principal, Sponsor A remarks,

> "I could say 'hey, it worked for me, I could do the same thing with people who were working quote under me.'"

Sponsor F also adds some support to the aspect of successfulness. Sponsor F states that initially he was not in the good graces of the superintendent until one particular staff meeting. He related how at the

end of the staff meeting after everyone advised the superintendent on one issue, he gave some input that was contrary to what everyone had provided. After the meeting, he was told by the others that he had said the wrong thing. As it turned out, the superintendent praised his honesty and from then on his relationship with her was positive.

He continued with

> ". . .and that's why my door is open, if someone on this staff has got a gripe, they come through that door and tell me about it."

What was a favorable turning point in his relation with the superintendent and ultimately sponsorship for his administrative career, he now honors and practices. It is this same trait of openness that he stresses to his vice-principals and his staff. The other sponsors also have episodes similar to Sponsor F which help illustrate the fact that what worked for them is included as part of the training for their proteges.

Another possibility why sponsors train their proteges in the way they were trained may be due to familiarity. That is to say, most people operate in a manner that they are familiar with. Sponsors are knowledgeable mostly about one training mode, the routine they underwent as proteges. They are aware of other ways but not to the detailed extent of their own passage. In support of familiarity as a reason, Alex Ikkeles states,

> "We may say that the problem of socialization is rather like that of putting on a play. Under the simplest of circumstances the script is fixed and has been handed down unchanged through generations. There are very few

> parts to play, and it is well known exactly who will play which part, so that firm preparation may be made long in advance. Everyone knows all the parts very well, so that interaction among the actors is smooth and satisfying. Since the play has been played many times before, all the props and necessary accoutrements are in ample supply and well tried."[9]

The third consideration for sponsors training proteges in a duplicate fashion has to do with the purpose of training. So far what has been stated is that sponsors identify proteges in their own image and then proceed to train them in a fashion that is similar to the sponsor's training. What results is replication by socialization. What has not been stated yet is replication of what. The purpose of the training is for the sponsor to develop within his protege a proper administrative perspective (to be defined in next section). Every organization has means of integrating individuals into positions for the purpose of reinforcing established patterns thus inspiring minimal drift away from expectations and norms. Hence formal organizations include informal sub-units, each of which set standards and socialize both new and old members. In this study the informal sub-unit is the sponsor of the protege. It is during the training period that a sponsor is molding the protege's perspective in order for him to integrate into the administrative sector. Since a sponsor is forming a perspective within the protege which is similar to the sponsor's perspective and since perspective is developed partly from the activities a person undertakes, it would be natural for a sponsor to put a protege in situations that helped shape

the alter's perspective. That establishing a proper administrative perspective within a protege is the most important issue in training will be demonstrated in the following section. Concluding, it would appear that sponsors train proteges in a fashion duplicate to their training.

D. Administrative Perspective

In the preceding section mention was made that during the training period the major intent is to develop an administrative perspective. Before verification is attempted, it is important to define the term perspective. Howard Becker defines perspective as a coordinated set of ideas which a person uses to deal with various situations.[10] Expanding on Becker's definition, administrative perspective will be understood to mean the norms, values, and attitudes inculcated into the protege by his sponsor through cognitive information and activities provided during his training in order that the protege will operate in a certain fashion as an administrator.

To buttress the contention that sponsors are focusing on developing a certain perspective within their proteges, Anselm L. Strauss writes,

> ". . .the coach not only works on current desires to get action directed along given paths, but seeks to create new desires and aims. He seeks to create a new identity for the pupil and to do this involves him in a variety of canny manuevers. The coaching process also leads to great changes of identity. . . [11]

Strauss also states that coaching is for the purpose of advancing persons into new status positions which he labels as 'status passage'. He states that a status is likely to become a way of being as well as a way of acting. His remark about status becoming a state of being and acting is quite similar to the definition of perspective: determining a protege's way of operation as an administrator and formulating an identity which resembles the sponsor.

E. Administrative Perspective Developed

Sponsor C probably illuminates perspective the best with the following statements. In a discussion about one of his proteges, I asked Sponsor C 'as a seasoned principal, do you see when the person starts developing the attitude, the real internal commitment?', and he said,

> "Well, first of all, to tell you the truth, you select people who had that attitude to begin with. You can't pick a person who hates parents. You pick a guy who is sympathetic to the problem to begin with. Then expose him; you give him experiences in just the same way that I was given."

I continued for the sake of clarification with the following statement,

> 'I want to clarify this aspect with you [Sponsor C]. Now, what you're saying is that most of the time the person has the attitude, the philosophy within a certain area. All you're doing is polishing the attitude up.'

His reply was,

> "That's all. In other words, what you really do is you take a diamond and polish it."

The above quote substantiates a number of the contentions being expressed.

Selection is based on the protege reflecting the sponsor's administrative skills and personal traits. A sponsor is providing experiences to reinforce attitudes considered to be important, and both identification and training is used primarily to shape a certain administrative perspective.

Sponsor A is a good example of illustrating the administrative perspective transplanting cycle: from significant other to protege, protege becoming sponsor, sponsor to protege. Cycle I is the significant other transplanting a perspective to the protege. Question: 'what do you remember about your vice-principalship?'

> "The most important thing was I had a principal who really felt and believed and worked and operated like you were a co-administrator."

Question: 'how do you describe your administrative philosophy?'

> "I firmly believe in getting the faculty involved in the decision making as to which way the school should go. So I think that I was a principal who really was not autocratic."

Question: 'where do you think you picked up this faculty involvement attitude?'

> "Probably from knowing--rushing through my five years of teaching, getting my Master's and knowing inside that I really didn't have all the answers in the teaching aspect of education. So I think based on that plus the principal had enough confidence in me to let me do my thing under her guidance. But I think probably having been with that gal five years helped shape me."

The last sentence of the above quotation expresses explicitly internalization which marks the end of Cycle I, transplanting of perspective. After the protege becomes a sponsor Cycle II commences.

Question: 'as a principal, what was it you tried to stress to candidates in preparation of becoming a principal?'

> "Again, I tried to give them the kind of opportunities that I had been given. For example, 'you're a co-administrator, make a decision.'"

Sponsor B, like Sponsor A, was not sponsored when each was vying for administration, hence, their administrative perspective was developed from significant others--principals who were not their sponsors but for whom they worked as candidates and as vice-principals. Sponsor B is best typified by the following quotes, 'Of your vice-principal experience, what was valuable for your training as a principal?'

> ". . .when you get to be a vice-principal not to be a bookroom vice-principal, but be a co-administrator with the administrator you're working with, if you're fortunate to have an administrator that will do this."

'How would you characterize your administrative philosophy?'

> "I believe very, very strongly in the democratic process. I don't think that as an administrator I would ever ask anyone to do anything that I hadn't done myself or wouldn't be willing to do myself. I think for a school to operate effectively it must operate by the democratic process."

'Where do you think you began to adopt this attitude of democratic process?'

> "I think that I began to adopt it in the first school I served. It was very dictatorially run with an administrator who did not consult with the staff and did not permit staff to participate in decision-making either in policy or the organization of the school. I was very much opposed to it as a teacher."

'You mentioned there was a negative model that you wouldn't want to be like. Was there any positive model that helped you in becoming an administrator?'

> "I don't think I ever saw any model that I would like to emulate. A secondary model I worked with was extremely dictatorial--extremely subject centered, not child centered. Those are things I was very much against when I went into teaching assignments. I worked under an elementary principal who was very dictatorial and made all group decisions autocratically. My second elementary administrator was semi-democratic, but not really, I mean surface aspect but not depth. Then I worked as a vice-principal. The first principal I worked under was an extremely dictatorial and autocratic person. The second one I worked under was very un-Socratic and involved the staff when it was convenient. She made decisions when she wanted to autocratically. . ."

It appears that Sponsor B adopted his administrative perspective as a result of his over-exposure to negative models. It may be concluded

that a candidate being overly exposed and trained with significant others that hold contrary perspectives will not socialize him with the significant other's perspective, but will convince the candidate against the sponsor's perspective usually in the opposite direction. His unwillingness to display the perspective of the administrators for whom he worked under may help explain why he was not sponsored when he was vying for administration as well as explaining his lengthy period of apprenticeship--sixteen years. The importance of perspective as an indicator of advancement will be discussed later. What is important to note for now is the influence significant others have in shaping administrative perspective within candidates seeking to become administrators.

Sponsor D is another example of administrative perspective being cycled from one sponsor to others. Cycle I: 'what are the things that stay in your mind that highlight your training experience?'

Response:

> "Well, I think the highlight mainly is working with people more than anything else. And I think, as I look at it now, I think it was to my advantage, because I think as the thing grew it's better for an administrator to be able to work with people. But I think you have to have a knowledge, but a broad knowledge."

'Was there anyone that you can remember that really assisted you as a vice-principal?'

Response:

> "I had Mrs. H. as my first principal, and she was very regimented. And I think this was kind of good for me to a certain extent, because you need some organization."

'How would you characterize your style of administration as a principal?'

Response:

> "Well, I think I wouldn't characterize it as autocratic at all. I would characterize it as getting people involved as much as possible. I have gotten autocratic at times. Then after things are in gear, I'll let teachers form committees and give me input."

Cycle II: 'What were some of the things that you stressed with teachers going into vice-principalships or vice-principals going into principalships?'

Response:

> "Well, I think mainly getting along with people was the first thing, because if you can't get along with people they better forget it. . .or if they can't see the broadness of the thing. . ."

Once more, the reader is made cognizant of a sponsor, while a protege, acquiring a perspective from his sponsor only to pass it on to an aspiring administrative candidate under the rationalization that *THE* perspective is essential, if the protege is to be successful.

Sponsor F demonstrates how a protege's administrative perspective is shaped not only from his sponsor but from the training itself. Sponsor F's emphasis has been stated as getting the job done. It was 'getting the job done' which produced sponsorship from the area superintendent. This characteristic accounts for one half of his administrative perspective.

> "I don't have any conflict at all with my role as an administrator, but I could not fit the role that at that time existed for principals. You were supposed to know everything there was to know. Well, it didn't take me long to find out that no way could I have all the answers for everybody. So, rather than to be the guy that has all the answers, in self-defense, I had to figure out other ways to get the job done. I began to share the problems with the staff. And I think, really, the secret of this school today is the total involvement of the staff."

Sponsor F shows the importance of a protege adopting the above perspective with a comment relating to a present protege.

> ". . .he has the potential to be an administrator because he can get the job done and he has the skill to get other people to do it."

His other concern is the involvement of the staff. He developed the attitude of staff involvement as a result of inadequacy, somewhat like Sponsor A.

Sponsor E is also an excellent example of a principal developing a perspective within persons. Sponsor E's perspective is based upon philosophy and her perspective is manifested in her operation as an administrator and sponsor. The following excerpts will demonstrate the point. Sponsor E replied to the question 'What are the major differences between teaching and administration?' with,

> "Well, I think if you make a demarcation you do it because of your administrative philosophy. There are people who feel that there is a complete break. I do not feel that way. I just happen to think that if you can lead a child, you can lead an adult. But many people see administration

> as management, an entirely different role, of not particularly leading out beyond themselves, but operating schools."

When questioned about models that may have helped her career, she gave this response,

> "I don't really have too many mentors in my background. I had one college professor that had a profound effect on me at college. He was in education. I took his philosophy and his psychology, every course that he had. He had a philosophy that I liked. He was a John Dewey man. I have always liked this liberal-type philosophy. He was a great philosopher and I wanted to know philosophy as I have always loved philosophy."

I continued the line of conversation with,

> "So, that's sort of a foundation for you as a principal, to have a philosophy about what administration is or what education is?"

She replied,

> "Actually, I think that is the most important thing and the least developed. You ask a principal, 'what is your belief in mankind?' and they can't tell you. If you don't have a belief in mankind, you can't have a philosophy of education. If you don't have a philosophy of education, how can you be a leader?"

Later in the interview I asked a key question about training, 'what administrative skills do you stress to future administrators that you think they will need?', she answered,

> "We're back to my philosophy, experience."

Pursuing the aspect of training, Sponsor E continued to elaborate,

> "See, it goes back to your philosophy. If you believe that everybody has the ability but they just need the experience, you provide it. But if you believe they need cleaning up, you decide on what they have to know and you give it to them, to change them. So people who are of that type philosophy will do that."

Attention is also brought to the point that Sponsor E does not identify skills in her responses. Again, here is an indication that gaining competencies are secondary during training. The primary aim of training is developing an administrative perspective. In the following section, it will be shown that passage is dependent not upon acquired skills but upon the demonstration of an acceptable perspective.

It is hoped that the previous statements made by all of the sponsors illustrate the contention that sponsors do identify and train proteges with the intent to incalculate a certain administrative perspective which generally reflects the sponsor's viewpoint. In support of the fact that administrative perspective is shaped both by significant others and experiences themselves, Leon H. Warshay writes,

> "Perspective is learned, largely through symbolic interaction. Symbolic interaction, involving as it often does, role-taking and role playing, leads to a good deal of one's perspective being closely organized around one's self or selves. This assumption implies an individual is a product of social groups of which he is a member."[12]

Reiterating, the section opened with comments by Sponsor C expressing the interrelatedness between selection and perspective. In closing, comments

by Sponsor A echo Sponsor C, thus helping to reinforce and summarize the contentions made about selection and perspective in regards to their role in training. Sponsor A was asked,

> "As a man who's been in administration for quite some time and who has known a number of administrators, what kind of philosophy or direction or attitude do principals try to give teachers that they want to become administrators?'

He replied,

> "Well, it all depends on the administrator. That's why we have different type schools. In a well run school, which means 'no fights, no loud noise, and that kind of stuff', they encourage the type of person who thinks like them. Others who think they're a hot shot who is gung-ho in sports and has great after school activities and that kind of stuff, that's the kind of person they look for. It's just kind of the old ego thing, you kind of get people who mirror you. So if you have a definite educational philosophy then you push those kinds of people. I think whether it's conscious or unconscious, you do that."

F. Advancement Due to Perspective

Procuring the proper administrative perspective is foremost since it determines acceptance by the administrative reference group and eventual acceptance leads to passage into the reference group. Readiness for advancement is singled by a candidate or protege when his behavior and pronouncements reflect the administrative perspective of the sponsor. A protege seeking entrance into administration will find it difficult to advance if he has a conflicting perspective than his sponsor and the same holds true for a candidate under a significant

administrator. Statements by some of the sponsors in regards to exclusion will help document this contention of passage based on perspective.

Sponsor D whose perspective revolves around working with people supplies four examples showing that administrative perspective determines passage. Sponsor D talked about one teacher who was seeking administration and concluded with this observation,

> "I had this fellow, he would go hot as all heck, he was great and then he would go down into a valley. We just kept trying and finally I said, 'Joe, I think we're just going to have to forget it. You'd better try something else. Maybe try going into testing or something closer related.' He just didn't work with people too well."

Sponsor D later verified that the above example was general practice for him. That he does decide to continue sponsorship based on perspective can be shown by his statement,

> "And have, if I have stopped, I have stopped more people going into administration just because they can't get along with people."

The last example points out how easily recognizable it is for the sponsor to know when a protege or candidate has internalized the proper perspective. The following observation also reveals the effectiveness of socialization during the training period. Sponsor D was commenting about one of his ex-vice-principals who he felt did not learn from him when he made the remark,

> "He was so self-centered he never watched to see the way I worked with people. It was so obvious when he became principal that he followed principal's A pattern [he also worked for principal A] rather than following my pattern. He followed the authoritarian pattern--you go through the chain of command and you don't allow people to talk to you directly."

The reader may question the above vice principal's passage into the principalship if his perspective was contrary to Sponsor D. Every sponsor stated that once a protege became a vice-principal that full absorption into the principalship was almost guaranteed.* The above example provides evidence. Sponsor F makes reference twice to the point that perspective is for most sponsors the determining factor for advancement, whether it is conscious or subconscious. Sponsor F stated directly,

> "I've had people become administrators that I have not supported because I didn't think they would be able to do the job."

Since Sponsor F emphasizes doing the job but also states he does not believe in building people in his image, it must be concluded that this decision is subconscious. Sponsor F reinforces and enlarges the scope of perspective as being the basis for support with a specific example. He cites the problem of a teacher whom he wanted out of his school, if not out of education.

> "He was a teacher for eight years in nine different schools. He was a crummy teacher and wasn't worth

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*The point of vice-principals almost guaranteed to become principals was also revealed during the preliminary interviews. It was because of this contention that focus was placed on scrutinizing the passage of the teacher to vice-principal

> a pound of lard, not that he wasn't smart and very able to do the job. But the point was that he was not doing it. So, I went through the whole grievance procedure."

The last example probably best illustrates how the protege must reflect the same perspective as the sponsor, if he anticipates being pushed along. Sponsor C related an account about one of his proteges who was teaching in a training school under the principalship of Sponsor E. Sponsor E's perspective is primarily centered on philosophy, more specifically, providing experiences which allow individuals to grow. This applies both to adults and students. The protege asked to be transferred to Sponsor C's school. I asked 'why?'.

> "Well, he was on his principal's bad list."

I followed with 'how did he get on the list?'

> "Conflict of philosophy. He expressed it and it didn't meet with her approval. He believed that she should be exercising a stronger degree of control and establishing a better disciplinary policy than she was. At least according to his interpretation. Although she may have had it perfect, I don't know. They differed on what he thought discipline was and what she thought discipline was. And she had indicated very strongly to him that he'd have a hell of a chance becoming an administrator as long as she had anything to do about it."

Edgar H. Schein helps to substantiate this contention of passage based on perspective when he writes,

> "Organizational socialization is the process of learning the ropes, the process of being indoctrinated and trained, the process of being taught what is important in an organization. It includes only the learning of those values,

> norms, and behavior patterns which, from the organization's point of view or group's point of view, is necessary for any new member to learn. This learning is defined as the price of membership."[13]

Thus the price of membership, adoption of a sponsor's administrative perspective by the protege or candidate, can make or break a career.

Wilbert E. Moore also addresses himself to the issue of candidates acquiring a perspective. He states that people develop an 'occupational identity' as the result of some form of apprenticeship and contact with significant others.[14] The purpose of developing this administrative perspective or occupational identity is so the person can fit in or take hold in his new status. This transition into a new position enables the organization to maintain its standard of operation.

G. Compliance

The question now arises, why should a protege or a candidate allow his values, attitudes, norms, or way of behavior to be changed? Or, stating it from the sponsor's point of view, what is at the sponsor's disposal that permits him to alter the candidate's or protege's viewpoint and thus his behavior? From the candidate's angle, it becomes apparent that advancement of his administrative training is determined on the correctness of his responses in certain situations. The sponsor evaluates the protege's actions based on the information received from teachers and others and the relayed information is interpreted under

the sponsor's perspective. Conjunctively, the protege realizes that ultimately his entrance into administration will be dependent upon the ratings and references written by his sponsor. From the sponsor's vantage point, he selects proteges that are receptive to suggestions and willing to perform extra duties. The principal has at his discretion the right to allocate opportunities to aspirants which are necessary for the candidate's training and experience. Related to the training and experiences are the evaluation of these activities by the sponsor. Therefore, the answer to the question lies in the compliance system used in the sponsorship mode. There are four interrelated variables that force a candidate to conform. They are willingness, feedback loop, principal's power, and the district's promotional process. Before the variables are developed, it is necessary to lay a foundation as to the meaning of compliance.

Compliance as defined by Amitai Etzioni refers both to a relation in which an actor behaves in accordance with a directive supported by another actor's power and to the orientation of the subordinate actor to the power applied.[15] Etzioni's definition is appropriately fitted to this study. He posits that there are three types of compliance modes, coercive, renumerative, and normative. Educational institutions use two types, coercive and normative; coercive power with clients and normative power with staff. Since this study is concerned with school personnel, it will be demonstrated that the sponsorship mode utilizes normative power. Two additional terms need defining, power and normative power.

According to Etzioni, power is an actor's ability to induce or influence another actor to carry out his directives or any other norms he supports.[16] Normative power rests on the allocation and manipulation of symbolic rewards and deprivation through employment of leaders, allocation of esteem and prestige symbols, administration of ritual, and influence over the distribution of 'acceptance' and 'positive response'.[17] It will be observed that the aspect of acceptance of positive response plays a significant role in compliance of a candidate's behavior.

Let us turn to developing the four interrelated variables in order to discover how they form a compliance system for the sponsorship mode of promotion. As mentioned earlier, sponsors expressed the aspect of willingness when discussing selection of potential administrative candidates. Willingness was measured by sponsors as proteges performed additional duties beyond the classroom activities and responded to suggestions offered by the sponsor. Sponsors made comments of this willingness in various ways, such as Sponsor C, discussing selection qualities of possible candidates,

> "Are they amendable to suggestions? I can't really tell you item by item except that the people I find who are good administrators have many characteristics in common. One of them is that they're anxious to learn. They're interested. . ."

Sponsor A states that when he was vying for administration he volunteered and said to his principal that 'my goal is to become an administrator and

I will do whatever is necessary to be this'. Also he would counsel persons wanting to go into administration especially those that were unaware, with 'you need to do some of these things so if an opportunity comes, volunteer'. Sponsor E states that she received a wide variety of teaching experience, when asked why, she replied, "It may be that I was the only one that didn't say no". Sponsor F refers to the quality of willingness or receptiveness a number of times.

> "I see an attitude of wanting to learn. Once in a while you run across someone who does this because they're going to butter up the boss. And no way was this his [protege] bent. His interest was in finding out as much as possible. You might say to somebody who is willing to put out some extra effort if they come and say [I don't go to them] 'well, why aren't you doing this?' I mean before I get to that stage of the game, normally they come to me and say, 'Well, I want to do my field work, I want to do this, I want to do this."

The purpose of a sponsor selecting a protege with this quality of willingness is so the protege will be receptive to adopting the sponsor's perspective. Again, perspective is formulated by the information and opportunities dispensed by the sponsor. It has already been exhibited that sponsors select proteges retaining perspectives similar to their own. If the protege is more amendable to suggestion, then it will be easier, if not assured, that the protege will succumb to the proper administrative perspective desired by the sponsor. To substantiate this phenomenon, Etzioni states that

> ". . .the means employed by organizations to acquire participants from the environment resemble those they employ to control

> participants once they have been acquired. Typical normative organizations tend to rely mainly on normative means of recruitment."[18]

Again, the importance of candidates being willing and receptive to suggestion offered by sponsors lend credence to the point that passage into the administrative sector is dependent upon displaying a certain administrative perspective.

Not only is the sponsor developing a perspective for the protege but he is also marking the route for him. One of the main functions of the sponsor in the sponsorship mode is to chart a path for the protege which will end in promotion. The sponsor is aware that the protege needs to have experience and certain training in order to pass the promotional examination of the district. The training and experience needed by the candidate is in the charge of the principal. That is, the principal has the power to bestow activities needed for administrative training to anyone on his staff. It is this power at the discretion of the principal that makes the candidate beholden to the principal. The power of allocation is vividly revealed in the terminology used by the sponsors interviewed. During the interviews I referred to training experiences as 'activities' while each sponsor automatically referred to training experiences as 'opportunities'. That the principal does have this allocation power is illustrated by the following comments.

Sponsor A

> "If an opportunity comes up, volunteer for some of these things. Then, I will assign the extra things. [When

> guys] had come and asked for help and push and all that, I'd just give them an opportunity."

Sponsor B's comments not only reflect the power the principal has to provide activities but his influence over the protege's perspective.

> "Now, as I look at it, there are a multiple of things that you can help with, both in the way of personal characteristics as well as specific experiences that you can recommend, and specific opportunities or channels that you can channel a person into."

Sponsor C comments not only on the principal's power but the crucial nature of sponsorship.

> "Well, I think that today if you don't have someone pushing you, then you're not going to make it. Because you have to have all these extra experiences that only come if the principal lets you have them. The only way you can help them is to give them experiences in the school."

Sponsor D remarks about the principal's allocation of opportunities and also reminds the reader about another facet expressed earlier. The opportunities provided are necessary if a candidate is to pass the promotional examination. Hence, the power of the sponsor is magnified. Sponsor D refers to his own training,

> "You need all of these experiences because right away she started grooming me for administration. When you look at a tracer, what the candidate has to write, what we call the 'brag sheet', we try to make sure all of those categories are covered."

Sponsor E reinforces the principal's manipulative power with these comments,

> "But the best way is to give them some kind of an extra teaching out of the classroom experience, which is very easy. Principals usually provide leadership experiences within the school. I can provide the experiences."

The power the principal or sponsor has over proteges or candidates by means of distributing opportunities is reinforced by Etzioni's comment,

> "One of the functions of extracurricular activities, in schools is to extend scope and with it, the involvement of the student in the school and the school's influence over him."[19]

The substitution of protege for student and sponsor for school is readily appropriate.

Capsulizing, the protege is selected based on the quality of willingness, i.e., perform additional activities and receptive to the sponsor's suggestions. This willingness aids the sponsor in molding the protege's perspective and most of the training and experiences needed for promotional reasons are under the power of the principal. Hence, these two aspects, the protege's willingness and the principal's allocation power, help to make the protege captive.

Next to be discussed is the means used by the sponsor to see if in fact the protege is progressing in the manner he judges desirable. The compliance mechanism used is the feedback loop. By feedback loop is meant that the sponsor evaluates the protege's actions and pronouncements based on information relayed back by participating others. The protege becomes aware rather early that the main function of the training activities are to perform in a fashion that is acceptable to the

sponsor's standards. In order for the protege to continue getting additional opportunities he must perform in a manner that is preferred by the sponsor. Since the sponsor judges the protege's behavior through his perspective, training for the protege becomes a performance of acceptance. The protege realizes that he must handle the situation in a style that is acceptable to the sponsor. The sponsor need not be present while the protege is acting, although some sponsors have stated that they do observe the office-seeker in action. The sponsor's presence adds more pressure for the protege to conform to the sponsor's expectations. That apprentices conform due to their perception of what they believe the sponsor expects has already been verified by Brim and cited in Chapter I. Witness the statements made by the sponsors interviewed regarding their measurement of a candidate's progress in training. Sponsor A comments,

> ". . .by the success of what they did. For example, if they were grade level chairman and they conned me into thinking they were real red hot. It would be obvious, let's face it, teachers would go to the principal with complaints and they always will. Then you go in and the scene is an active one where everybody is involved and they're trying to solve, then you know."

Sponsor C,

> "You hear more from the vice-principals and some gossipy little communities. You hear lots of things."

Sponsor D highlights the use of observation to appraise the protege's performance. His comments refer more to observing than feedback although he does use the feedback loop.

> "We could see that he would grab hold of things and do them on his own. So, I'd say 'let's watch him, because he looks like he has a lot of potential. I was able to give him a lot of opportunity--doing jobs that I should've done. But very closely, you know, that I could keep real close tabs on him. I just go through the sequence in my own way, and I sit in and watch them. I think a lot of it comes through the way the teachers react back to the principal. A lot of it comes back that way."

Sponsor E related an example of the feedback loop.

> "Well, you would get the information back from the experiences, both of you would. Let's say he might come in and say, 'Oh, I had the most marvelous conference with this parent'. In the meantime the father has called up and said otherwise."

Sponsor F recounts the feedback loop as the indicator used by sponsors to determine if the protege should continue to receive opportunities. Note his comment about feedback information as it related to him when he was a candidate vying for administration.

> "If the vibes that the superintendent is getting from other people with regard to me are positive, then you're ok."

The feedback loop places pressure on the protege to conform to what the sponsor favors. Consequently, passage is determined by the protege molding himself in the style of the sponsor.

The last interrelated factor to be discussed is the district's promotional process. The district's promotional examination has two components which place a great deal of control in the sponsor's hands which in turn determines whether a candidate will enter the administrative

sector. The two components are the training and experience (T&E) and administrative ratings. It has been substantially documented that a candidate needs to accumulate administrative activities if he is going to progress in his quest for administration. All the sponsors mentioned that they would not deny any opportunities to any person seeking administration if they so requested. However, it can be inferred that the sponsors would not provide the same amount or even the same opportunity that carried considerable status to unsponsored candidates. Even if they would provide the same amount and quality, the sponsor has another way of favorably discriminating for his protege, with administrative ratings. Additionally, rating is another controlling means sponsors have over their proteges to conform to their image. Whereas the other factors were informal, willingness of candidate and feedback loop, the principal's allocation power being semi-formal, this last factor is an integral part of the district's promotional process, thus providing the sponsor with official and formal control of a candidate's advancement. If the protege is not aware of the other factors that are assisting in molding him to the sponsor's image, he surely is aware of the sponsor's official participation in rating.

The command and impact training and experience have regarding socialization and promotion cannot be over emphasized. Especially since the Los Angeles School District's promotional examination is now heavily based on this one component, and since T&E is under the control of the principal. Coupled with the above statement is the fact that administrators' ratings are not only on the candidate's ability but also on the

training and experiences a candidate performs. The importance and significance of T&E is best stated by the sponsors themselves. Sponsor A speaking of his own T&E,

> "I would volunteer to be the guy who would assist the principal in setting up yard duty schedules. I wouldn't turn down serving as a grade level chairman or faculty chairman, these kinds of things, because I knew those things were what counted on the T&E. So everybody had to do these routines and as I indicated in building up your T&E."

Sponsor A's following statement refers to the change in the district's promotional examination. Note the focus on T&E.

> "First of all there is no exam per se in a written form. Now, some people say that's good, other people say that's bad. So, what you're doing then is you're going into an awful lot of training and experience versions."

Sponsor C responded to the question of 'Is there a clear cut pattern now as to how you get into a vice-principal position?' with,

> "Training and experience. What experiences have you had, or if you've had two and I've had twenty, I certainly have some more points than you. Have you been a grade level chairman? Have you had the responsibility or organizing the Christmas program, or the Spring program or something? Have you had workshops within your own school? All of those things."

The following statements were selected to illustrate the interrelatedness of T&E and ratings. Continuing with Sponsor C,

> "T&E is the ratings that people write about you."

Sponsor B states,

> "When you get to training and experience it's what the top-level people in administration are saying or what the administrators are saying about this person. And again, it comes back to I can say anything I want to say in those references, really."

Sponsor D makes a number of remarks referring to T&E and its connection with ratings. As an example he cites what sponsors refer to when they speak of support.

> "Now look, to become a principal it's not going to do you any good to come back to me and have my experience again. I've already rated you in that position."

His next comment refers to the district's change in examination stressing T&E but more importantly his next two sentences graphically support the hypothesis that conforming to the sponsor's style rather than skills acquired determined advancements.

> "Nowadays, it's so much on the training and experience and less on the written part of it and that rating comes from the way you operate in a school. That's training and experience, it's the one that really determines whether you're going to be a good administrator."

Sponsor D's last comment telescopes the magnitude of T&E and ratings. In response to the question 'How crucial are ratings?', he replied,

> "Oh, they're very crucial. For instance, you have columns marked exceedingly outstanding, outstanding, and then you have satisfactory. There's about four categories there. If a person doesn't get lines right down that last category,

> if you only put one X over in the outstanding and not on the exceedingly outstanding, he probably won't make it. More so when that is the training and experience part of it. These categories here like this [see sketch below] they [examiners] watch where they [administrators] put the X. Now X_2 doesn't carry as much weight as X_1, even though it's in the same category. X_3 here in the middle carries more than X_2, but not as much as X_1.

Exceedingly outstanding	Outstanding	Satisfactory
X_1 X_3 X_2		

Therefore, the formal evaluation of a candidate's abilities and performance is based on an administrator's collaboration and not by an instrument measuring professional competencies (see Figure 10).

What remains is the connection of the four factors in order to display their interrelatedness. The candidate or protege is seeking entrance into a reference group, herein administrators. The overt official process is by examination which is weighted heavily on two components, rating the T&E (training and experience). Both factors are under the control and discretion of the sponsor in the role of principal. Since the major intent of the sponsor, be it conscious or subconscious, is to shape the protege's perspective (i.e., passage is

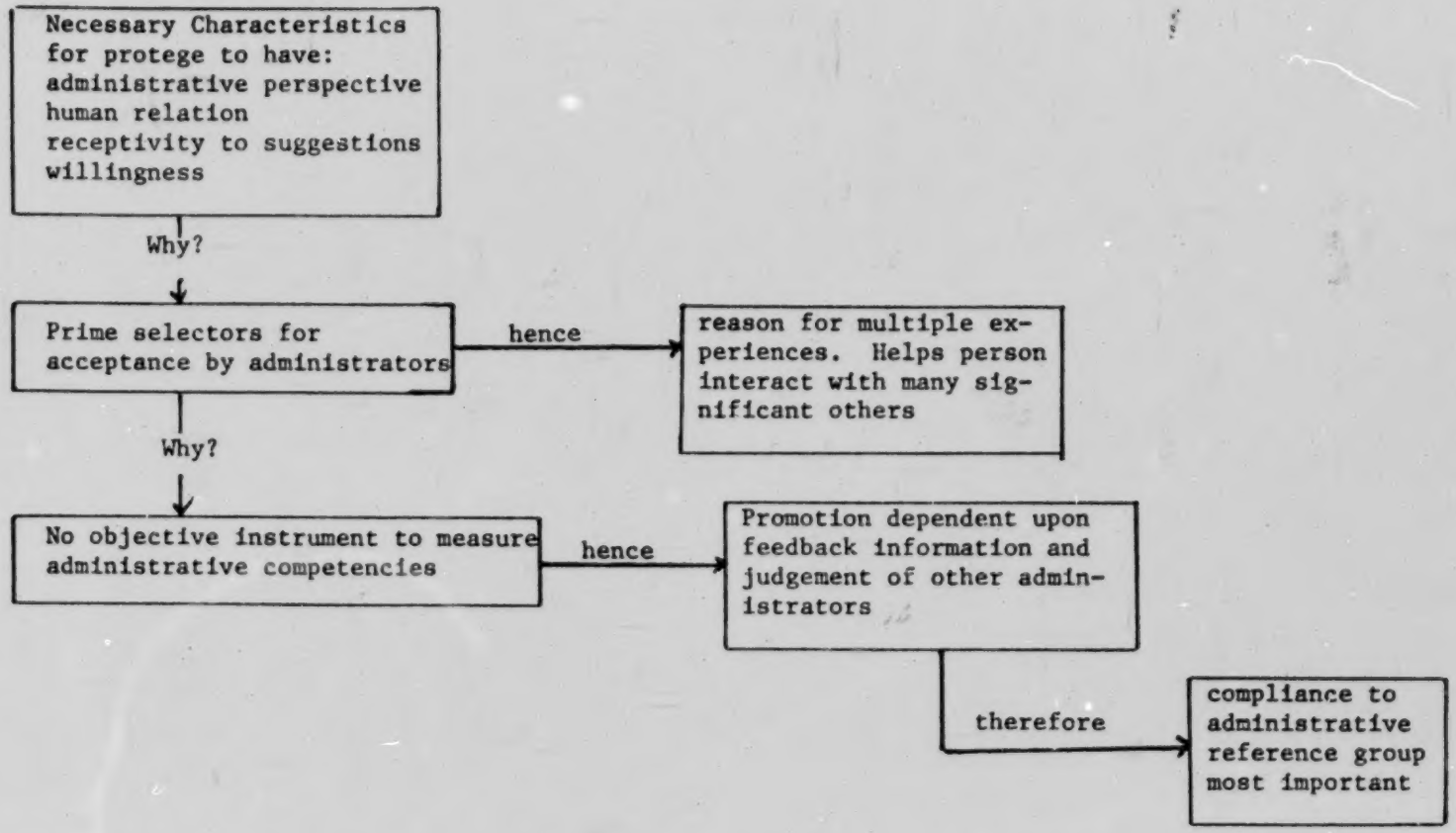
Necessary Characteristics for protege to have:
administrative perspective
human relation
receptivity to suggestions
willingness
Why?
Prime selectors for acceptance by administrators
hence
reason for multiple experiences. Helps person interact with many significant others
Why?
No objective instrument to measure administrative competencies
hence
Promotion dependent upon feedback information and judgement of other administrators
therefore
compliance to administrative reference group most important

Figure 10

EVALUATION BASED ON ADMINISTRATOR'S COLLABORATION

dependent on protege adopting sponsor's perspective), sponsors select proteges that demonstrate the qualities of willingness to perform additional functions and be receptive to suggestions. The sponsor determines the protege's 'progress' on the basis of indirect information provided by others or from direct observation, but mostly from the feedback loop. The candidate is cognizant of the sponsor's mandatory duty of evaluating his performance, thus, he patterns his behavior in a manner that will gain him the approval of the sponsor. In behaving to the expectations of others, the protege's administrative perspective is shaped, ultimately leading to acceptance into the reference group.

The interlocking of these four factors forms the compliance system of the sponsorship mode.

Suitably, the compliance system strongly seals the candidate in the image of the sponsor. Accordingly, the sponsorship's compliance system is functional for the district since it results in smooth transitions for persons into new roles, thus maintaining order.

Summarizing, succession is by sponsorship. Sponsorship becomes socialization. Succession socialization revolves around a social interaction based on favoritism. The metropolitan public school district's formal promotional process based on competition is dominated by the informal process. Therefore, promotion is by succession socialization.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSIONS, UNANTICIPATED CONSEQUENCES, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

For every action there is an opposite and equal reaction. In scrutinizing succession socialization, the viewpoint has been focused on one action, inclusion. In applying the above Newtonian law to sponsorship, it has been recorded that the reaction is numerically unequal. For every person included there are more persons excluded. Remaining to be discussed is succession socialization's implication to the exclusion of ethnic minorities. Hence, the concluding target of concentration is the flip side of sponsorship, with the bullseye being the exclusion of culturally different persons. Hypotheses pointed at exclusion have been formulated based on the uncovered information, with corollaries addressing themselves specifically to exclusion of minorities.

Succession socialization produces two types of results, intended and unintended. Depending on their effects, these two results are either functional or dysfunctional. In the previous chapter, explanation was furnished about succession socialization's functional contributions, such as maintaining stability for the organization. In the concluding chapter, attention will be to some unintended results which are

dysfunctional for the school's operation, and succession socialization's unforseen influence on the administrator's on-the-job practice.

Finally some brief recommendations will be recorded. Suggestions will be offered as to how the informal promotional process may be altered so more of the traditionally excluded personnel will be incorporated and advocacy will be made for further research.

Exclusion of Ethnic Minorities and Women

While describing and explaining sponsorship in the previous chapter, implied was the argument that the informal promotional process was indeed the main avenue for advancement. Surfacing the implication is now necessary. Explicitly stated the argument becomes a premise from which exclusion of ethnic minorities and women will be developed. The premise reads: In large school districts where a closed shop condition exists, promotion into the administrative sector is dependent upon sponsorship. Although the information already supplied should make the premise acceptable to the reader, additional direct testimony is provided for reinforcement.

Sponsor A states,

> "Everybody in those days, and I'm sure in these days, everybody has to have a patron saint, for lack of a better term, if he wants to make it."

Sponsor C,

> "I think that you can't do without a strong backer. Once you make the commitment, then you say, 'fine, now I'll push you along'. If they don't, it's impossible to do it, it's terribly difficult, and I don't think advancement is possible. Someone has to be backing you."

Sponsor D,

> "Yes sir, someone has to push you."

Since the premise states that inclusion is based on sponsorship, the converse can read: Exclusion of ethnic minorities and women is due to lack of sponsorship. The following two sponsors lend support to this idea. Sponsor A,

> "Minorities were not really getting the advice, all the things that we've been talking about. They weren't really getting the push from the current administrators. I think the biggest thing is that very few people were pushing them to do the things that were necessary."

Sponsor E,

> "It's just that the opportunities are not provided for minorities."

To state that minorities have not been promoted based on lack of sponsorship is not enough. Hence hypotheses and corollaries have been formulated to help explain why few culturally different persons and women have filtered through the sponsorship screen. Throughout the sponsorship mode there are pivotal stages which determine adoption, continuance and/or elimination.

To begin, it has been made clear that sponsorship is limited, that is to say, a sponsor can only support one or two individuals in a one to two year span. Compounding the quantity factor is the fact that there are even fewer ethnic minorities in the teacher pool. Although the sponsors express the lack in numbers as the 'official reason' for the scarcity of minorities in administration, there are more pertinent reasons why culturally different personnel and women are excluded.

> *Hypothesis 1:* If a person does not have personal qualities that are reflective of a sponsor, then the teacher will not be subconsciously identified.
>
> *Corollary 1:* Since ethnic minorities and women are perceived to have some defective personal qualities, they are not subconsciously identified.

It appears that ethnic minorities and women are not promoted since they are rarely sponsored. In support of Corollary 1, statements made by sponsors about women are included.* Accordingly, Sponsor B's comment refers to two reasons why so few ethnic minority persons are in administration: directly, to lack of numbers and indirectly to personality defects.

> "I see many of the students that I had in high school as teachers, a few as administrators, working in the public schools in different capacities other than teaching. . . and the students didn't have the confidence in themselves that they could make it. So you found very few browns

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*Since the researcher is Chicano, when addressing the aspect of ethnic minorities and women the sponsors were much more candid about discussing women's 'faults' than those of ethnic minorities.

> coming into administration. I think that the number of browns we have in the schools is extremely limited. So, when you go to the percentage of browns that were in education, there weren't that many to choose from."

Again the perceived reason is lack of numbers. The personality 'flaw', lack of confidence, is adjunct. Sponsor B later returned to the question of exclusion of Chicanos with the following statement.

> ". . .to get back to why these people [Chicanos] didn't go into administration, I did a lot of personal encouragement, to encourage browns to go on in school because they were as capable, or more capable, but they lacked confidence."

It appears that lack of confidence is given equal status as lack of numbers. This characteristic is magnified in importance in Sponsor A's remark.

> "I don't think you can do anything no matter what, unless you have that feeling of self-confidence."

Sponsor C's comments offer insight as to the negative identity women are assumed to have and reiterates Sponsor B's belief that ethnic minorities possess a lack of confidence trait.

> "I don't think that women should be in positions of leadership because I think they're too emotional. And then, if you started to ask why, you'd isolate two or three facts. One is that the women tend to be pettier than men. Two, women tend to be more clicquey than men."

His next statement refers to a Chicano who didn't advance into administration, the specific quote cites his estimation of why.

> "There was, I could say, a failure on my part because I counseled him. I told him he was an absolute cinch. He'd been a principal for the past five years, no question about it. But it wasn't what I failed to do, it's what José failed to do for himself. There's something within José himself. Maybe he really doesn't want to be an administrator. Maybe he doesn't want to face the attacks."

Sponsor E reveals another preconceived stumbling block for women and her bias towards men.

> "The principalship is preoccupied with many activities, that's why I think women won't last in the job. It's very demanding physically. Health is real important."

In discussing the number of successful persons she has helped she commented,

> "Most of them were men. Men have this drive to go on built in."

Sponsor C made a similar comment about men in comparison with women.

> "It's usually the men who are more aggressive about administration than women."

The connection being that certain personal qualities are stereotypic of women just as ethnic minorities are perceived to have certain characteristic flaws, i.e., lack of confidence.

Reinforcing the contention that certain groups are viewed to possess negative characteristic traits which in turn are perceived not to allow them to function, Sponsor F's remark is included.

> "I think that more men tend to function objectively in a situation. And I think basically, women tend to make decisions emotionally. I think that most teachers prefer to have someone who solves problems objectively and treats everybody the same, and doesn't let personal involvements interfere with what needs to be done. And I don't think that women can do that."

His remark parallels Sponsor C's statement about women being emotional and petty.

Lack of confidence, a trait attributed to ethnic minorities, would appear to be a conscious barrier preventing subconscious identification.

> *Hypothesis 2:* If a person does not display professional abilities that mirror the sponsor's, then the sponsor will not identify the person for support.
>
> *Corollary 2.* Since the identification phase is sequentially linear and minorities are rarely subconsciously noticed, few are identified for sponsorship.

It has already been stated that ethnic minorities and women are consciously perceived to have personal characteristics which are stereotyped and unfounded. Furthermore, it is assumed that such traits hinder their professional effectiveness in the principal's role.

> *Hypothesis 3.* If the district is not seeking a particular type of administrator, then there will be no conscious effort to identify said individual.

Sponsor A indirectly illustrates that school districts do have 'periods' of recruiting particular groups. He speaks of the time when

he was entering administration, just after World War II. The recruitment emphasis was for men to fill the principalships.

> "Principals at that time were women, so they generally tended to look for men for assistance in running the school. So you found that many of the 'leaders' in those days were men because they were older and all were veterans. We would encourage the young guys, we wanted the men to get ahead more than the women because there were even more women administrators."

Sponsor B speaks more directly to the school district responding to the needs or pressures of promoting certain groups.

> "If you don't have something that you're asking for, or that you particularly desire, giving it to you isn't going to make that much difference. But if you do have something that you're particularly desirous of, that you're asking for, and don't get it then you get a lot of discontent."

Sponsor E remarks about how the educational organization is now beginning to respond to minority communities.*

> ". . .now the area superintendents or the local area offices are going to reflect the community wishes."

Sponsor F comments that the district is now beginning to respond because of changing needs and pressures.

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*The Los Angeles Unified School District's awareness to identifying Black and Chicano administrators began after two pressure packed incidents--the Watt's Riots of 1965 and the Chicano students' walk-outs of 1967. Both ethnic communities had vocal groups expressing to the school board and superintendent the need and desire for ethnic minority administrators.

> "I honestly think the district is attempting to meet the needs of the changing society. I think they're aware of pressures that are principally ethnic, not only from the standpoint of the professional getting ahead, but also from the standpoint of communities. I think the district, generally, is aware that the problem exists."

The inference to be drawn is the previous conscious non-identifying of culturally different personnel. Explicit statements about conscious non-identifying are now included, Sponsor A,

> "Now, the thing that we didn't have then was we hadn't really gone into ethnic identification like we're going to push for Chicanos. That wasn't the way it is now. We said, 'anybody who's capable of being pushed.'"

Sponsor A's last sentence implies that Chicanos were not sponsored because even with support successful passage was negligible. A partial explanation may be that sponsors were unwilling to harm their record of success or reputation. Another fragment of the explanation may be that peer approval would not be forthcoming for a minority in a leadership role such as the principalship. More about minority acceptance in leadership roles will be said later under corollary five.

Sponsor B makes the most direct reference to the conscious non-identification of culturally different people.

> "Unfortunately, there hadn't been enough push to identify and seek out those people who would be potentially good administrators [Chicanos and Blacks]."

Therefore with the above citations in mind, corollary 3 is postulated.

Corollary 3. Since there was no expressed need to consciously identify minorities, no effort was made.

Hypothesis 4. If a person is not sponsored but is allowed to seek training, then his treatment will be less favorable than that delivered to a protege.

If a teacher is judged by a sponsor to be capable, but not subconsciously or consciously in his image, then the candidate will not be refused and aid will be limited. Obviously, since sponsorship is based upon favoritism, the unsponsored candidate will receive less advantageous treatment by way of fewer opportunities and training experiences which provide less exposure and access to other significant administrators than the sponsor's favorite. Counseling the aspirant into another field is another deterrent available to the sponsor. If sidetracking is executed, more attrition of ethnic minorities is the result. From the above hypothesis, corollary 4 is derived.

Corollary 4. Since minorities are usually unsponsored, their treatment is less favorable than others.

Consequently, the probability against successful passage is enhanced.

Hypothesis 5. If a person's ancestry is African or Mexican, then the probability of adoption is slim.

That there is open discrimination against ethnic minorities need not be documented in this research. However, to defend the formulation of hypothesis 5 two direct appropriate citations are offered.

Sponsor C substantiates the exclusion of ethnic minorities based on racial discrimination.

> "As far as there being so few Browns and Blacks in administration, historically there is absolutely no question about the fact that if you were black or brown you could do everything in the world including standing on your head, and pass a good T&E, and get to the oral and you wouldn't pass it. No question about that."

Sponsor D speaks of his attempt to sponsor a black teacher, the first protege he tried sponsoring, by asking the superintendent to place her in a training school. The superintendent's response to him was,

> ". . .the training school wasn't ready for a black teacher. I said that training school G was as ready for a black teacher as they ever would be. She said 'no'. I said 'ok.'"

However, racial discrimination is only the visible deterrent to sponsorship, the underlying drawback to non-sponsorship is the sponsor's concern for professional reputation. Notice what the same two sponsor's state about adoption. Sponsor C,

> "I am interested in quality. I've never boosted more than one or two at a time. My batting average is very good."

Sponsor D,

> "I do push people, but I push them when I'm sure."

Hence, adoption for sponsorship hinges on a person's probability of successful inclusion into administration, which in turn, is dependent

upon acceptance. In the case of ethnic minorities where racial discrimination is attached, sponsors will not bestow favoritism because of the negative reputation they will obtain. Knowing from the start that to place time and effort in someone only to result in failure surely turns away adoption.

> *Hypothesis 6.* If a person does not announce his candidacy, then the chances of being selected are greatly diminished.

Before the sponsor will make an overt invitation for adoption, he must be reasonably positive that the person is a candidate seeking administration. If the person does not announce his interest, either by GASing or by direct request, then the individual will not be perceived as aspiring. Some persons may believe that performing their assigned duties extremely well is sufficient evidence for being identified. Assuming extra-curricular activities may hinder their performing well in their classroom functions. Such persons operating with the described understanding place themselves at a disadvantage. The question that needs to be explored is 'Do ethnic minorities and women seek sponsorship or do they rely on the district's pronouncement of promotion based on quality performance?' There is evidence to indicate that the answer is negative in regards to seeking sponsorship. In general, acculturation of the Mexican American is documented as a history of conflict due to resistance. More specifically, that culturally different groups have not sought out the informal promotional process based on favoritism, be it attributed to repudiation of acculturation or other motives, is expressed by Sponsor A.

> "When the district instituted an official administrative training program that triggered a lot of minority people to try out because it was then, quote more objective than subjective."

Naturally, the question needs to be explored further for additional verification. The effect of acculturation will be discussed again in reference to corollary six.

> *Hypothesis 7.* If a person does not receive peer approval while GASing, then the sponsor will not initiate adoption.

> *Corollary 5.* Since peer recognition is not granted to culturally different people, sponsors will not affirmatively seek out minorities for adoption.

It is widely known that racial prejudice does not allow people to grant the discriminated their full status. Alongside the racial attitude preventing peer approval is professional bias. It seems that the white teachers may find it difficult to follow or accept a culturally different person or a woman in a leadership role. Some of the sponsors reveal this stigmatic view with reference to women. Sponsor C,

> "I don't know whether you can document this, but I think that if you talk to a thousand teachers you would find that the majority of teachers would prefer to work with a male administrator than a female administrator."

Sponsor E, a woman administrator states,

> "I haven't any problem with women, but I have heard men once in a while mention 'Oh, I've got a woman principal'. So, it may be more difficult for men."

While commenting about one of his proteges, Sponsor F shed light on the professional bias against women in leadership roles.

> "I think probably the most important thing in his life, in coming to me, was that he would rather work for a man than for a woman."

Up to this point, all of the previous hypotheses and corollaries have been concerned with means of not gaining sponsorship based upon non-identification and lack of peer acceptance. Selection is important since the opening premise stated that sponsorship determined promotion, or conversely using Sponsor D's words,

> "The word gets out, if you're not asked, then it's no use."

Concurrently, the sub-premise is that culturally different persons have not been sponsored. Again using another sponsor's words, Sponsor F,

> "Somewhere along the line someone hasn't pushed Blacks and Mexicans and somewhere along the line somebody has to touch them."

The following hypotheses and corollaries direct themselves to means of losing sponsorship.

> *Hypothesis 8.* If a protege's administrative perspective does not conform to the sponsor's, then the aspirant will not be given further support.

> *Corollary 6.* If a culturally different person refuses to have his professional identity changed further, then continued acceptance will be denied.

There is abundant documentation to the effect that assimilation by acculturation has created an identity crisis for the Mexican Americans. It can also be substantiated that the Mexican in America has resisted acculturation adamantly. A discussion of acculturation of the Mexican in America is beyond the scope of this research. However, the researcher does postulate that culturally diverse persons are not consciously identified or fall from favor after being adopted because of psychological resentment and hence resistance to further loss of cultural identity. By connecting this historical refusal of Mexicans to lose their cultural identity through acculturation with replication--the core resultant of succession socialization--minimal successful participation by ethnic minorities in sponsorship is explained. (If professional socialization has been an exclusionary factor for culturally different persons in the past, the future holds even more due to the current ethnic emphasis on maintaining and reviving cultural norms and traditions). The attitude of cradling one's cultural identity is manifested by the candidate's day to day practice. It results in serving parents rather than catering to administrators or expressing opinions that are favorable to the interest of ethnic minorities but at odds with school district policies. The consequences of such acts are: The sponsor receives negative feedback on the protege's actions and words and approval by significant district personnel will not be forthcoming.

Repudiation of replication opens another exit door for the culturally diverse person. The sponsor-protege relationship mandates that the protege

have faith and trust in the sponsor's counsel. Ethnic minorities who have experienced discrimination find it difficult to place themselves in such a dependent role. If the minority candidate does not submit to such a role, then the sponsor-protege relationship will not last, hence the loss of sponsorship. Conversely, Thomas Carter, in researching the education of Mexican American children, posits that the Mexican American teachers who seek financial, social, or political rewards the system provides adhere strictly and rigidly to institutional demands, thus becoming super-conformist.[1] The succession socialization process is certainly consistent with Carter's findings.

> *Hypothesis 9.* If a person has not completely internalized the reference group's norms, but the perspective is compatible, then advancement into an administrative position will be delayed.

> *Corollary 7.* Since the culturally diverse candidate begins with cultural norms that are different, apprenticeship will last longer causing some culturally different candidates to side-track themselves into other non-administrative but related areas.

It has already been expressed that sponsors and other significant administrators have the misconception that ethnic minorities and women have personal and professional disabilities. Based on these unfounded attributes, sponsors do not identify women and minorities for selection. For non-sponsored candidates that are allowed to proceed, and for some culturally different proteges, the same misperception hinders their progress. Since ethnic minorities and women are viewed to be rough diamonds,

more polish is necessary. Insights into a stringent and prolonged training period for minorities are verified by sponsor dialogue.

Sponsor A, a Mexican American administrator, speaks of his estimation of training for minorities.

> "I think perhaps we probably had to maybe do it [training] better. This was to allay any doubts."

Sponsor F recalled a conversation he had with a black teacher during the time they were both vying for administration.

> "He felt that the reason blacks were not moving ahead was because they were feeling the pressure of expectation, of being expected to do more than the next guy."

Sponsor E spoke of how some sponsors approach training for ethnic minorities.

> "We are not going to turn him [a minority] away if he is competent. We're going to make it as difficult as possible."

Sponsor B's attitude toward preparing minorities for administration is illustrated by a comment he made in reference to one of his Mexican American candidates.

> ". . .but he's going to have to go back and fill in these voids, like his lack of communication skills in written form."

If numerous obstacles are placed for jumping, it is not difficult to comprehend why an office seeker will ultimately lose the necessary

drive to continue the climb. Prolongation of training assists in ethnic minorities sidetracking themselves into other responsible positions.

The remaining hypothesis and corollary attempts to answer why so few culturally different persons have not advanced within the administrative quarter.

> *Hypothesis 10.* If a person is to advance within the administrative sector, then holding the office of principal is essential.
>
> *Corollary 8.* Since most ethnic minorities have not reached the principalship, they have no access to climb the administrative ladder.

Not only is there an established routine pattern to becoming an administrator, but there is also a set of "administrative chairs" to occupy in order to ascent to higher level administrative positions. A predetermined route is perpetuated because of the 'closed shop' conditions.

By discussing the closed shop phenomenon, entry to reaffirming the opening premise is provided. It has been stated that sponsorship, the informal promotional mode, is interwoven with the official promotional practice of the district. So much so that sponsorship dictates to the official practice. The premise continues by stating that lack of sponsorship has resulted in exclusion of minorities. That the closed shop condition is amenable to elimination can also be shown. How this control is operationalized is revealed by the following sponsors. Sponsor A,

> "The administrators through the association are the ones who are asked to select, to nominate, to give names for the various committees and the various screening committees. This has been the pattern for years. Now, it's opened up a little more but for a long time principals serving on committees were taken from names submitted by the organization. So, it's a major role. Now, the association's philosophy, if it had been to say 'we want a lot of minorities', then suddenly they would have nominated people who felt that way."

Sponsor E,

> "The administrator's association has the influence in the [promotional] procedure by virtue of having principals write the exam and be on the oral team."

Summarizing the hypotheses and corollaries, the probability of culturally different persons (and women) to be identified and selected are lopsided in favor of exclusion. Plus, if adopted, there are multiple key exit points, the effect being falling from favor. Sponsorship is funneled to admit only a few, to sift deviants out and to produce a scant sum total of ethnic minority administrators. Of major importance is that culturally diverse people are excluded, not on the basis of competencies but on the lack of favoritism. Discrimination is founded on the sponsor subconsciously not identifying personal traits and consciously attributing unfounded negative personal characteristics which are believed to hinder professional performance. Since most sponsors are not ethnic minorities, there is a lack of understanding and appreciation of different cultural norms. As a result of little or no appreciation, sponsors are not either subconsciously or consciously attracted to minorities or women for sponsorship.

While undergoing succession socialization, the differences of culturally diverse individuals and women are melted down. Replication does not allow for deviance or resistance to conformity. Hence ethnic minorities are either filtered out or molded to operate like the sponsor by way of administrative perspective.

One other major conclusion can be inferred from the competencies of white versus ethnic minorities and women. For a white candidate selection is based on having matching characteristics as the sponsor, and training is directed at providing exposure to significant others. The learning of skills is a poor second. Therefore, for the ethnic minority who is unsponsored but gains inclusion and the white protege, both are equally as ill trained or well prepared as the other. (A case can be made that ethnic minority groups or women are better prepared to function as an administrator since most are unsponsored, hence forced to prove themselves by working more and performing better.) Sponsor E may have stated it the best by saying,

> "The Anglos are saying that minority promotions are more political, because they're not getting the jobs. So in order to rationalize that we say, 'Well, he's getting an ethnic assignment'. And in order for our egos to stand that we kind of call it that way. And we make it another way by special attention. I think their caliber is just as good as when we went through the other way. No, I wouldn't say that their promotion's any more political than ours. It's just that the opportunities are not provided. And we always call that political."

Implication to the Day-to Day Operation of the School

Purposive action produces consequences. However, such action also brings into being latent functions, which are neither intended or recognized. When such hidden functions become real, they are called unanticipated consequences since they are unforeseen or unexpected.[2]

Implicit in the succession socialization of individuals are two latent functions, skill learning becomes minimized and open expression is closed off. Consequently, a number of unanticipated consequences materialize.

During the protege's training, emphasis is placed on performing for approval and gaining interaction with significant administrators. With skill learning taking a second place, prospective administrators are ill prepared to operate as vice-principals. Nor does the candidate acquire the necessary competencies while interning as a vice principal. Unfortunately, the vice-principal's training is a time of waiting, a time of performing adjunctive tasks, and again a time of gaining approval by principals. What is spelled out is ineffectiveness. Ineffectiveness is the person's inability to satisfy certain administrative functions performed by the principal. The ill training of sponsorship may help explain the phenomenon of on-the-job learning practiced by most first and second year principals.

The derivative of training for acceptance is the sealing-off of open dialogue. The protege verbalizes comments which are anticipated to be what the sponsor expects. Critical examination of possible

alternatives to traditional patterns are lost. With divergent thinking stifled and various options underdeveloped, inefficiency is the end product. By inefficiency it is meant that the principal uses more resources to operate the school. Mismanagement of resources by the educational leadership and its implication are too far extensive to include for discussion here, but the consequences are somewhat plain.

Concluding, replication--succession socialization's main output--limits the operational ability of prospective administrators who in turn deliver and cause dysfunctional service to school children.

Suggestions: Incorporation of the Traditionally Excluded

The paramount intent of the research was to discover and not to prove nor to formulate an alternate paradigm. However, most researchers and even more educators feel compelled to express solutions to problems whenever possible. This researcher, being both a Chicano and a professor, feels obligated to offer disconnected answers in the hopes that culturally different persons and women will gain incorporation.

With the advent of pressure calling for the need of ethnic minorities in decision making positions within the Los Angeles Unified School District, a conscious awareness and identifying of more culturally different persons has occurred. What remains to be done is the dismantling of the sponsorship mode of promotion. That is to say, favoritism and subjectivity must be removed to the lowest degree possible. Competition

and objectivity must be brought to the forefront as soon as possible. The rules of competition must be fair and equitable to all participants.

Concretely, the district must eliminate the closed shop* conditions by instituting a formal training program consisting of:

1. The trainee is to be determined on self-selection after complying with state regulations for administrative certification.

2. No trainee is to be under the guidance of one principal for an extended period of time (one year recommended).

3. A list of competency based skills is to be drafted whereupon the trainee undergoes coinciding experiences.

4. The trainee is to be relieved of normal classroom duties for no more than a two year period of time.

5. The examination is to include items related to competencies learned and needed educational codes.

6. Ratings of training experiences should be cross validated with University supervisor and must apply only to current test. No additional weight should apply.

7. Three-fourths of the selection and review panel should consist of outside personnel (community person, professor, neighboring district administrator).

8. Throughout the program whenever appropriate, the assets of the culturally different and the female must be included. For example, additional credit would be given if the trainee speaks the language of a certain community or is knowledgeable of the cultural norms.

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*Of interest, the consequences, both intended and unintended, provide more reasons why the Los Angeles Unified School District should be divided into smaller independent districts.

There should be ethnic representation on the selection and review board. In general, the district must guard against any one route from becoming 'the pattern'. Prospective administrators should come from various paths, including the filling of vacancies with outside district personnel. Another avenue is to export and import administrative trainees from and to other surrounding school districts.

Recommendation for Further Research

Studies of the informal promotional process in metropolitan school districts are rare. Research will have to be extended in many directions before we can understand adequately the influencing factors that affect succession socialization and are affected by it. For the research minded reader, some directions for investigation in this area might take, apart from testing the validity of the hypotheses and corollaries herein formulated, are indicated.

Among the factors which affect succession socialization, the organizational environment looms large. There is little systematic knowledge available explaining how administrative perspective is formed, altered, or maintained due to job conditions, organizational structure, and external stimuli. The environmental conditions affecting succession socialization's normative power are less clear. The presence or absence or competitive external forces seems to be important.

Secondly, concerted effort in exploring the reduction of socialization may yield a different educational organization process and outcome.

By investigating situations where socialization is minimized, the kinds of emerging leadership can be identified. Reduction of conforming forces, consequently, will effect the organizational effectiveness and the satisfaction of alienated minorities. Entry to this aspect may be through the examination of Federal funds and their impact on promotion. Most of the sponsors commented that the promotional stream was now in a state of flux and the implicit connection was made with federal funds.

In closing, exploration of the unanticipated consequences generated by succession socialization would be fruitful. Discovering unintended results and evaluating their functionality is of vital importance since a cause is only understood when all of its effects are seen. The three kinds of unanticipated consequences (those which are functional for a designated system, those which are dysfunctional, and those which are irrelevant for a designated system) would need to be found and scrutinized.

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GLOSSARY

Administrative Perspective	The norms, values, and attitudes incalculated into the protege by the sponsor through cognitive information and activities provided during the training.
Candidate	A certified person (usually a teacher) seeking to become an administrator.
Chicano	An American of Mexican Ancestry (limited but sufficient for this study).
Compliance	The power used by the sponsor to bring the protege's attitude and behavior into conformity.
Protege	A candidate who is supported by a sponsor.
Replication	The molding of a protege in the attitudinal image and/or behavioral style of the sponsor.
Sponsor	An administrator (usually a principal) who assists subordinates by means of favoritism into a promotional position.
Sponsorship Mode	The informal promotional practice based on a social relationship.
Succession Socialization	The internalization of certain necessary reference group norms, values, or attitudes learned by a protege or candidate prior to promotion.
Training School	A school where preparation of prospective teachers is practiced.
Training Teacher	An experienced teacher who prepared prospective teachers by means of on-the-job activities.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

BRIEF PROFILES OF EACH SPONSOR WITH TIME LINES

Appendix A-A	Sponsor A
Appendix A-B	Sponsor B
Appendix A-C	Sponsor C
Appendix A-D	Sponsor D
Appendix A-E	Sponsor E
Appendix A-F	Sponsor F
Appendix A-S	Summary of Profiles

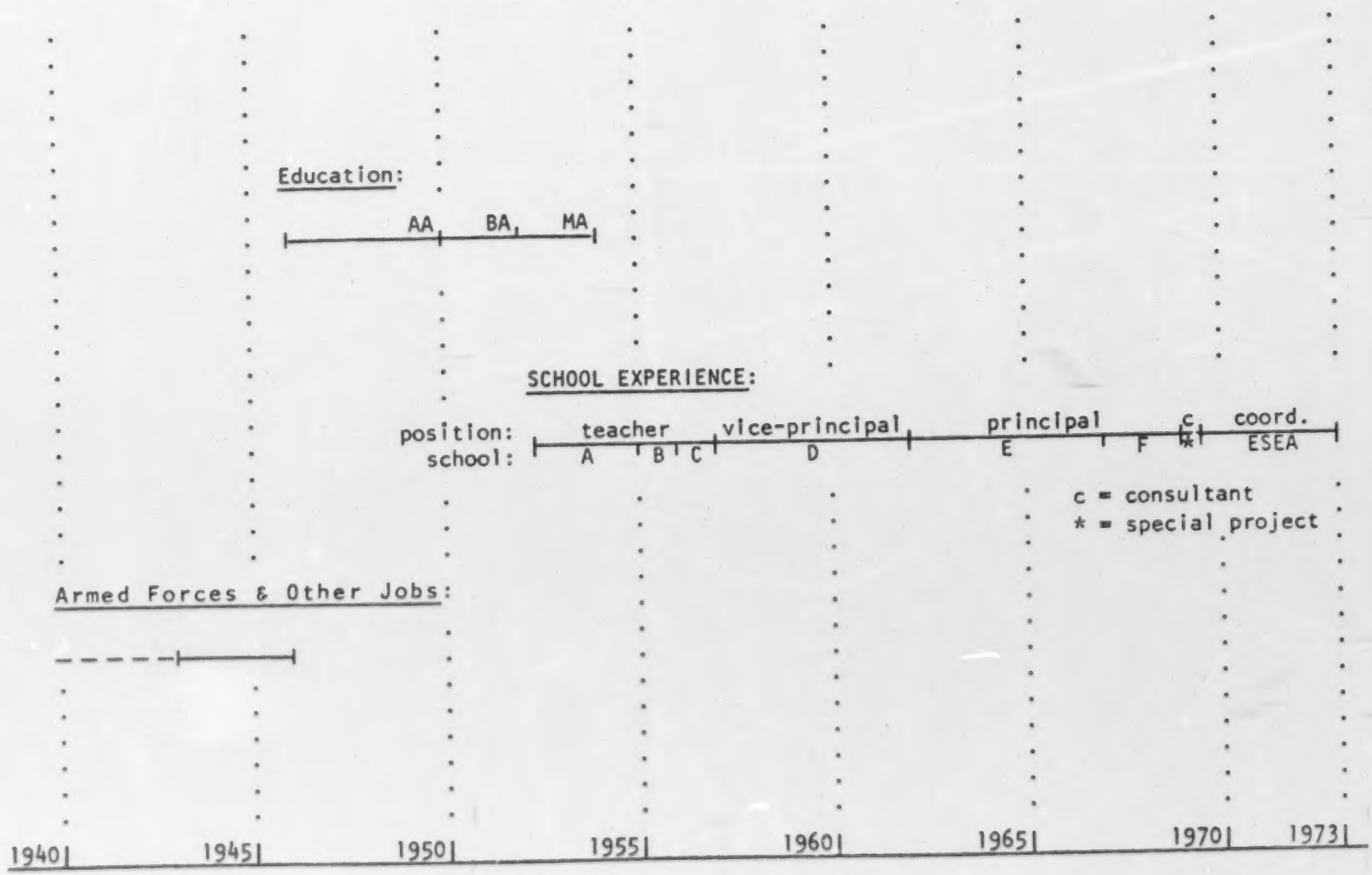
APPENDIX A-A

Sponsor A Profile

Sponsor A, a Mexican-American, was not going into education but rather had his goal set on a law career. In order to reach his goal, he felt that going into education was an established indirect route. By the time he received his B.A. he was 'hooked' on education, so much so that he continued on to get his M.A. and administrative credentials within two years. He taught both upper grades and lower grades within three years. His fourth year he became a training teacher at a training school, and by his fifth year of teaching applied for and passed the vice-principal's exam. He remembers that he was not necessarily encouraged by his principal. In fact, she questioned why he was taking the exam.

After passing the vice-principal's exam, much to his surprise, he was assigned a local elementary school and after three years took the principal's exam but failed. He was advised to exercise his option of reviewing his case, which he did, and was told 'How well do you know your superintendent? Get to know him well'. He did so and during his fourth year as a vice-principal received additional training experience; the kind of opportunities the superintendent had control over. Once again he took the exam and passed. He waited for a year to be placed and then was assigned to a small elementary for five years.

Later he was reassigned to a larger elementary school which he felt was not the best selection. He discussed the assignment with the superintendent after which he was given another elementary school with a predominant Chicano student population. After two years there, he was asked to apply for a directorship to which he was selected. Within a year he was reappointed to a district coordinatorship. Administratively, he is goal oriented and believes in diffusing decision making as much as possible. He does not consider himself to be an expert teacher but does see himself as an administrative expert. This is due to his shortness as a teacher and the greater length of time as an administrator. His approach to decision making is to involve the faculty as much as possible. His administrative perspective is one of co-administrators, which he believes he acquired from his vice-principal training. He states that he is reflective of his group, that is, having the same common characteristics, i.e., being a war veteran, a late start in teaching, male, and goal oriented. Yet he believes himself to be somewhat different than his colleagues by referring to himself as a maverick. Because of his goal orientation he found himself being more self-directed, thus looking for more opportunities in order to enter administration. His account of his candidacy clearly indicates he was no one's protege.



TIME IN SCHOOL SERVICE - SPONSOR "A"

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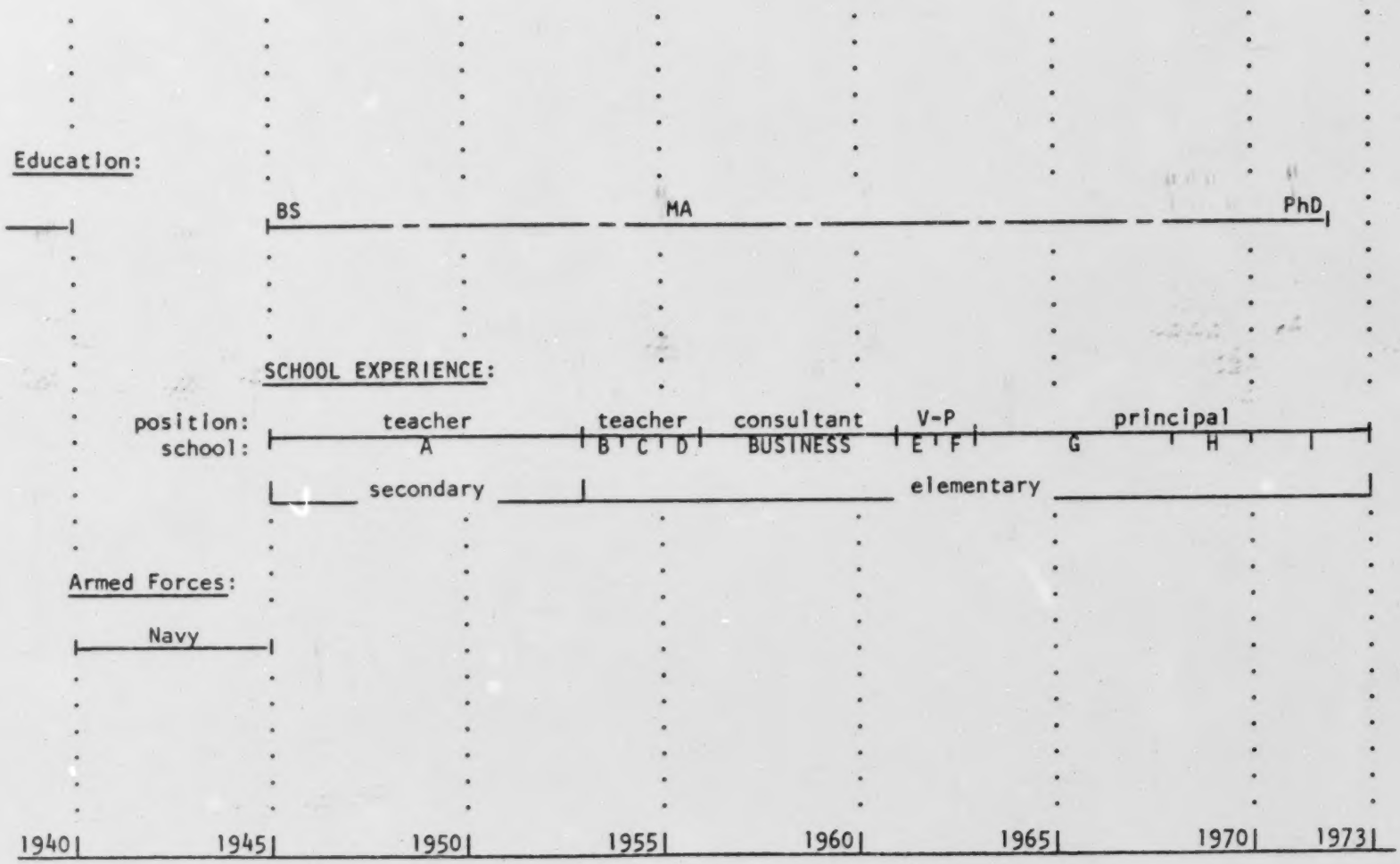
APPENDIX A-B

Sponsor B Profile

Sponsor B did some undergraduate work before enlisting in the military service, in which he spent five years as an officer. After an intensive period affording him the experience of making decisions, he returned to college to get a degree and a teaching certificate. As an undergraduate before the war, he had not intended to enter education. For the first eight years he taught the senior high school level in his major area of concentration, science. He shifted his focus from secondary to elementary because he was more people oriented than subject centered and the secondary level he reasoned was too late a stage in school life to try to help children learn. The practical reasons for the move to secondary were more possibilities for advancement into administration, less night work involved, and more money in administration. He spent three years in different elementary schools before transferring to a central office position for five years. After sixteen years of teaching, he assumed the vice principal position for two years in two different schools in the suburbs. His first assignment as a principal was in a central city school for five years. He was then transferred to another elementary for two years and is now serving in another elementary school. He has acquired extensive world of work experience during his college years and summer vacation periods. He firmly believes that having a broad background of experiences outside

of education is important, if an administrator is going to make decisions, understand people, and organize effectively. Along with firmly believing in the family unit, he strongly believes in preparing for his profession (i.e., continuing his education culminating in a Ph.D.). He believes that in preparing for administration, besides having a broad general background in life, a teacher requires an extensive and intensive experience, more specifically, knowing a broad cross section of curriculum, teaching all the grade levels if possible, and truly involving oneself in a number of organizational committees. Along with his school learning there is the formal education or continued college education. His philosophy is 'learn extensively by doing'. His administrative philosophy is believing in the democratic process. This translates into having the faculty participate in making decisions through means of committees.

The acquisition of his administrative perspective was the result of his negative experiences working with personnel in both the secondary and elementary level. He, like the other sponsors interviewed, considers himself to be different because of his 'hybrid' experience both in and out of education. From all of the information expressed by Sponsor B, it can safely be stated that he was not sponsored.



TIME IN SCHOOL SERVICE - SPONSOR "B"

APPENDIX A-C

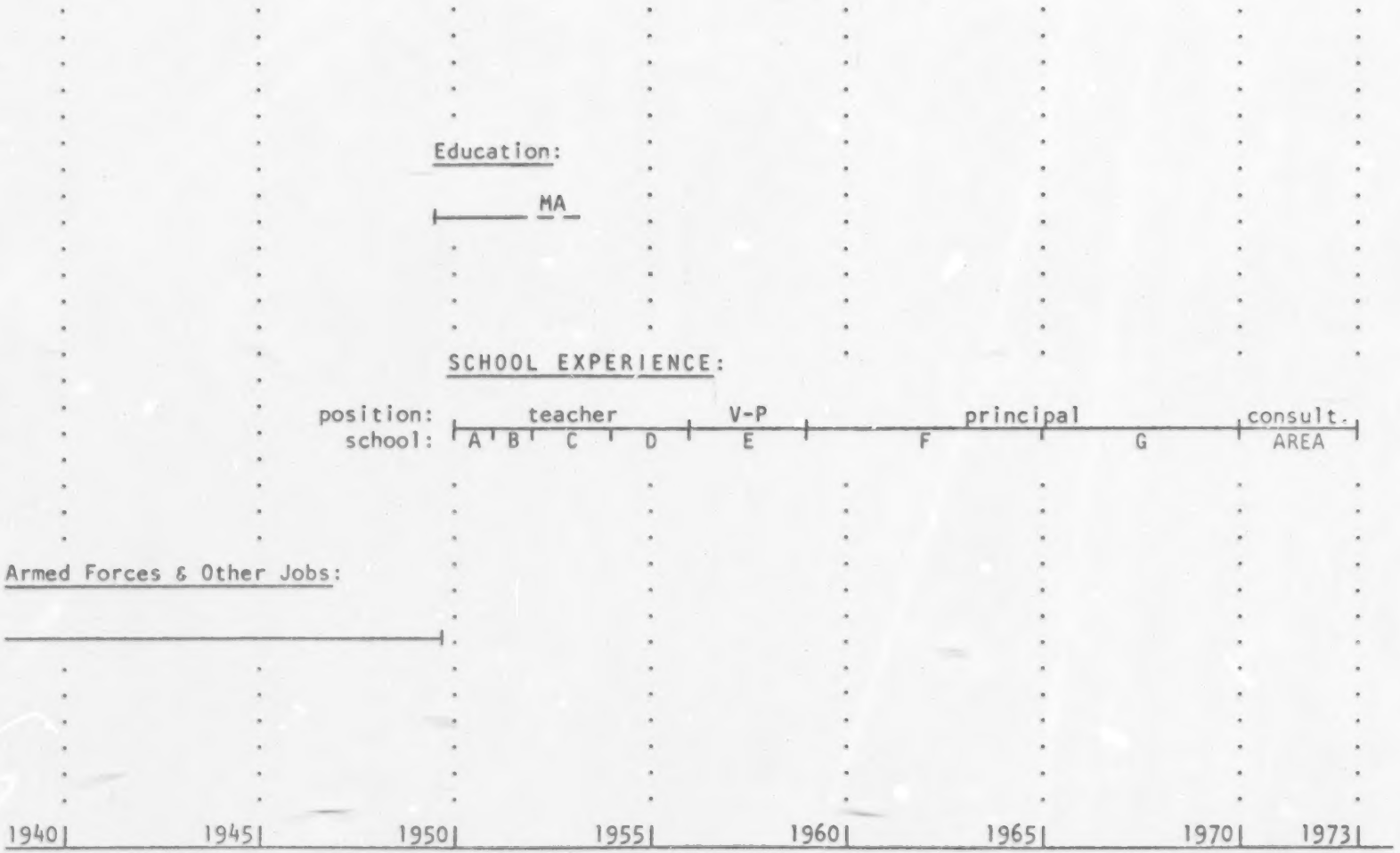
Sponsor C Profile

After finishing his undergraduate work, Sponsor C spent fifteen years developing a career in the performing arts which was interrupted by World War II. After the war, he continued his career but finally decided not to pursue this ambition since he could not be as good as he wanted. He reasoned that his activities were closely linked to education, thus he began a teaching career. Considering himself to be experienced and mature, due to his age, he continued his graduate work to obtain his administrative credential. While still in college he was counseled into elementary education by one of the education professors. After teaching in four different schools (each school was different in geographic location, ethnic composition, economic wealth, and size), and completing six years of teaching, he successfully passed the vice-principal exam on the first try. All three years of his vice-principal training were done in one elementary school. He passed the principal exam, again on the first try, and was assigned to one elementary school for six years, then was reassigned to another elementary school for five years, and presently is holding a central office position.

He states his strengths are his maturity, experiences outside of education, and his natural ability to work with people. He characterized his administrative style as 'benevolent paternalism, benevolent despotism', that is, he makes decisions based on as much information and

participation from the faculty as possible but not necessarily making the decision as advised or always having to include others in the decision making process. According to his administrative understanding, public relations is probably the most important responsibility for an administrator to perform. Operationally, administrators must get persons to perform necessary duties. He states he is somewhat different from the rest of his colleagues since he started teaching at the late age of thirty-five because of his career in the entertainment profession. Sponsor C did advance into administration by way of sponsorship.

In summary, a miniature profile of Sponsor C as a person and as a professional is an individual who can work naturally with people, can make decisions, and has confidence in himself as a result of experiences outside education and his maturity.



TIME IN SCHOOL SERVICE - SPONSOR "C"

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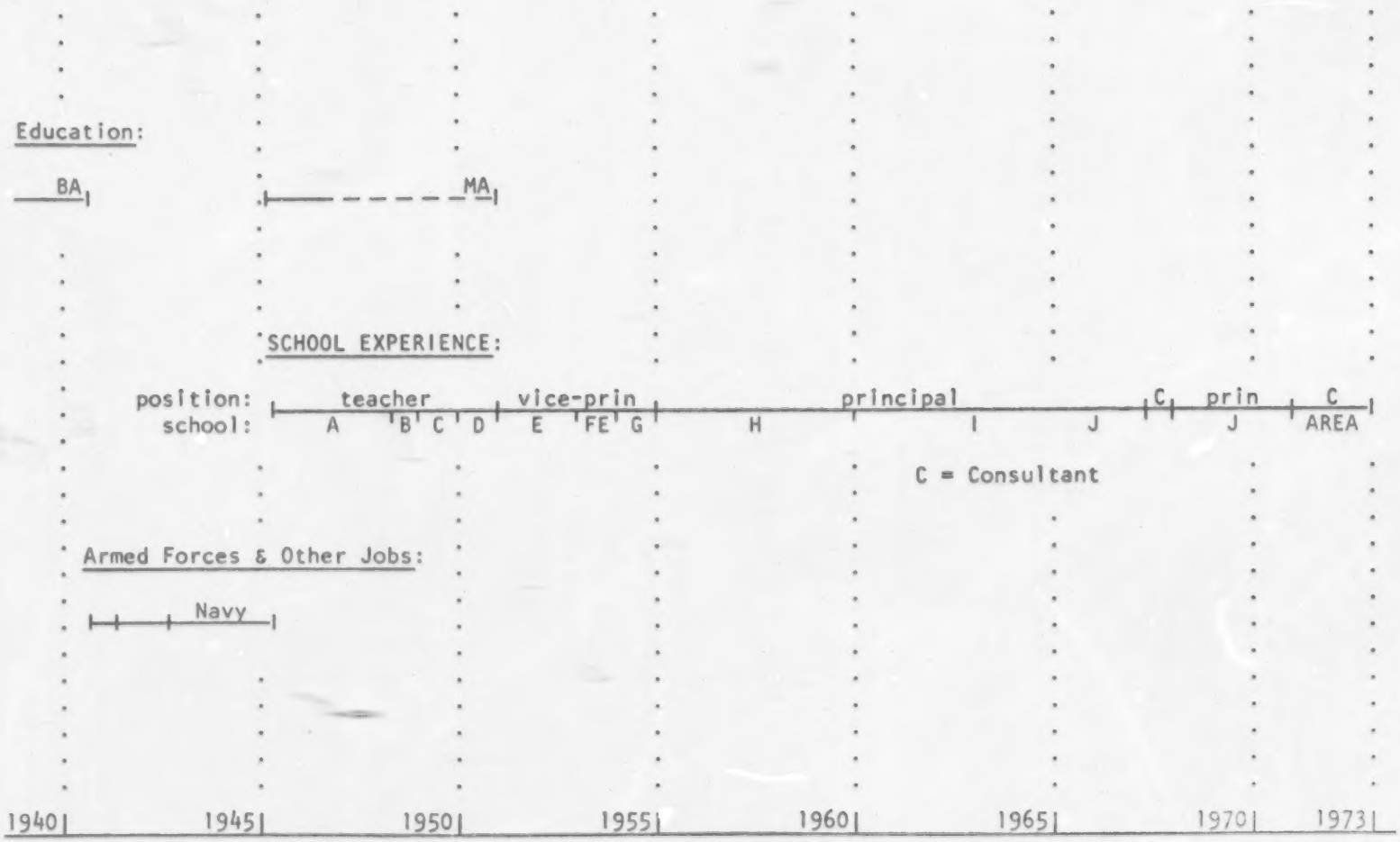
APPENDIX A-D

Sponsor D Profile

Sponsor D did his undergraduate work with the intent not to enter education but to do social work with juvenile delinquents. World War II interrupted his career, but while in the service he spent most of his time as an instructor. After leaving the service, he resumed his sociological work but discovered his focus had changed. Because of his service experience as an instructor he decided to enter teaching on the senior high level, however as there were no openings at the time, he was selected for the elementary level. At the age of twenty-nine he spent three years at one elementary school, after which he was assigned to an elementary school for social adjustment students as the head teacher. Sponsor D acknowledges that the superintendent 'right away started grooming me for administration'. He was then reassigned to another elementary school for one year to provide him with additional experiences. Later he was placed in a training school as a training teacher. After a total of six years as a teacher, he became a vice-principal of three different schools in four years. He explains that all of his vice-principal moves were made for specific reasons. For example, in one school he was to run it since the principal was no longer able. His span of time as a principal runs as follows: one school for five years, three years at a larger elementary

school, four years in another elementary, and presently in an area office position.

He states his administrative strengths are working with people and having a broad knowledge of education. His strength of working with people was developed as a result of his boyhood experiences and his education in sociology. He partly attributed his success to his maturity which he thinks others overemphasize. His leadership style as a principal is characterized as getting people involved as much as possible, with periods of having to be autocratic but only when the situation demands it. Sponsor D was definitely a favorite of the area superintendent, hence sponsored into administration.



TIME IN SCHOOL SERVICE - SPONSOR "D"

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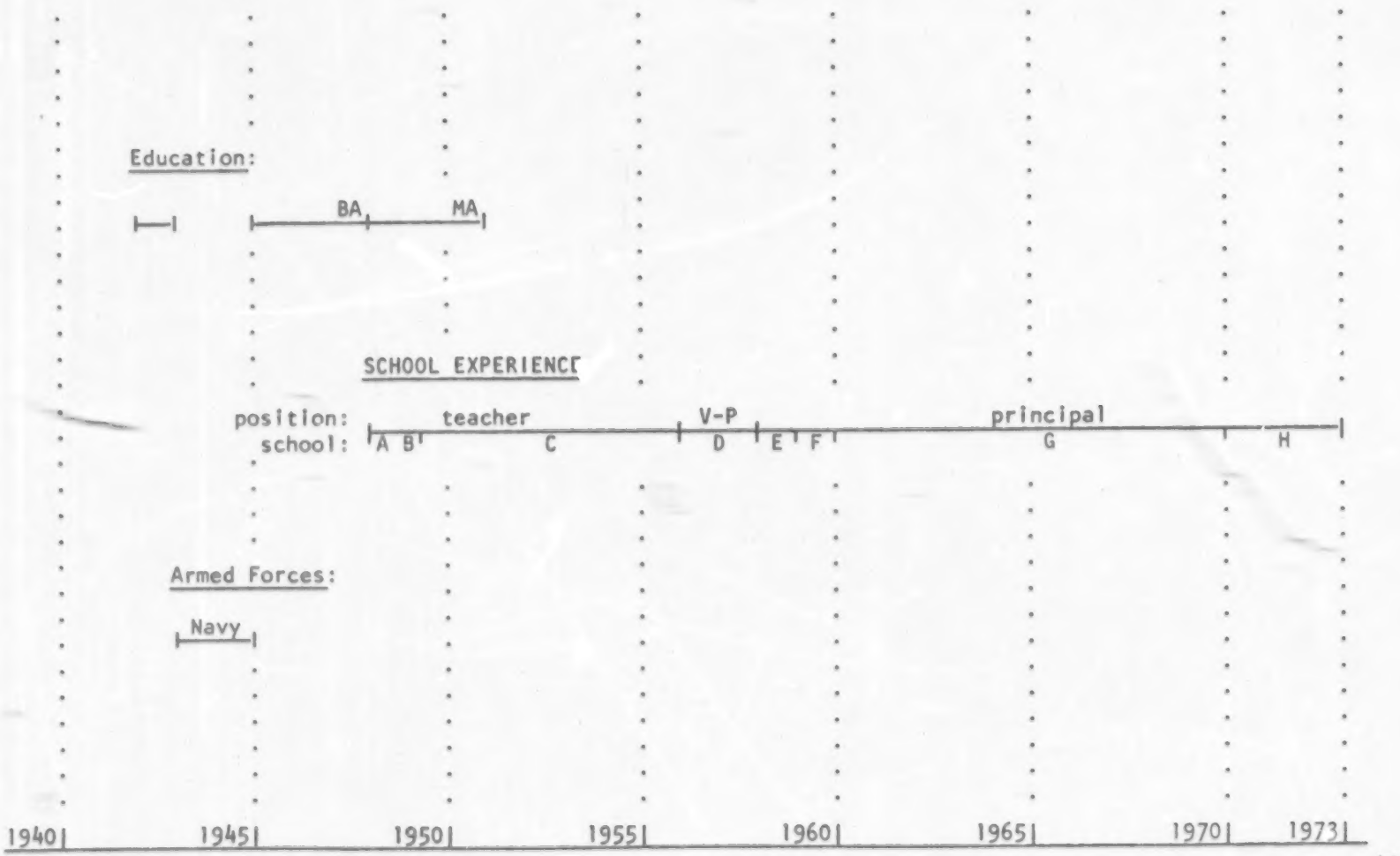
APPENDIX A-E

Sponsor E Profile

Sponsor E is a female who after one year in college joined the armed forces during World War II, after which she returned to finish her college education. (It is not known if her original intent was to build a career as an educator. It is assumed she did since she makes no mention of having another career line.) Like the other sponsors profiled all of her teaching and administrative experience has been undertaken in the same school district under study. Her first four years of teaching were spent in three schools with each teaching assignment in a different grade level. After her fourth year she was assigned to a training school where for four years she again taught a different grade level each year. Within these four years as a training teacher she completed her master's degree and received her administrative credentials, all at the urging of her principal. She was assigned to one elementary school for two years as a vice-principal and then proceeded to become a principal at two small elementary schools spending one year at each school. She then took the principalship of a training school for ten years and finally was reassigned to a smaller school for three years. She attributes her military service for developing her social maturity and establishing a worldly philosophy which she maintains is vital for functioning in inner city schools. She was constantly being

placed in difficult situations (new schools and different grade levels) which also provided her with a multiple background of teaching experience. She does not make a demarcation between her administrative philosophy and her teaching approach. Her administrative philosophy is one of leading people out beyond themselves, while her teaching philosophy is providing experiences that allow people to reach out beyond themselves. She also considers herself to be different since she not only had an academic and professional background but because of the two years in the Navy. Sponsor E was 'pushed' by her principal to enter administration, consequently, she is also a product of the sponsorship.



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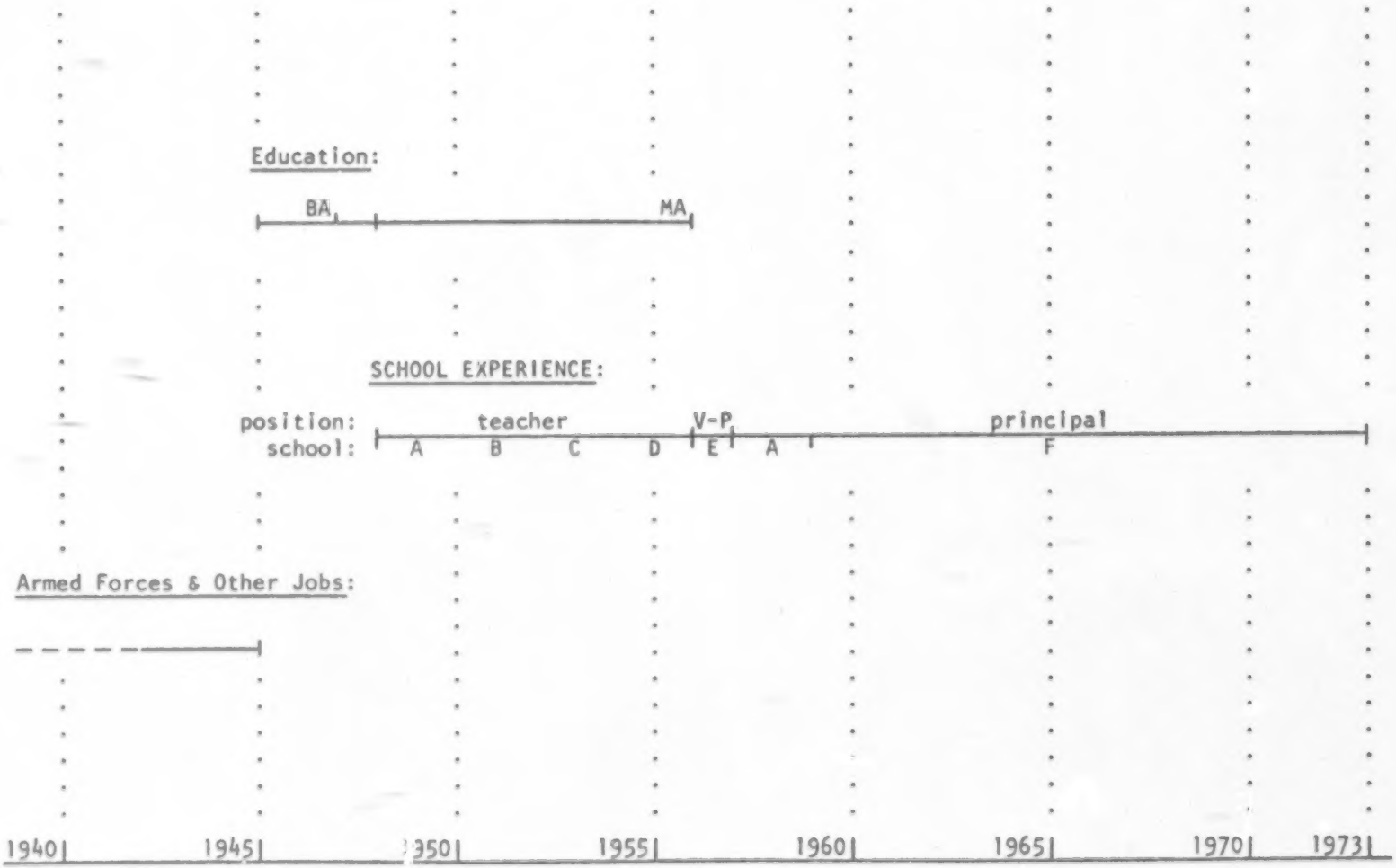
TIME IN SCHOOL SERVICE - SPONSOR "E"

APPENDIX A-F

Sponsor F Profile

Sponsor F had his college education cut short as a result of World War II but resumed his education following the war in order to enter teaching. His original goal was to be a football coach at a senior high school and then proceed to a principalship but while working his way through college as a playground director in the elementary schools in the district, his goal changed. Thus by the time he was certified to teach he had changed his whole focus, that is, to be a teacher and then a principal on the elementary level. His eight years teaching experience entailed working at four schools and in the area office as a physical education consultant off and on for five years. His placement at each school was the result of the superintendent assigning him to get a specific job done. His vice-principal training lasted two years at two schools whereupon at his second school as a vice-principal he became the principal for one year. The superintendent then assigned him to his present school at which he has been for fourteen years. Sponsor F perceives his primary strength as getting the job done. Operationally he accomplishes the task by making decisions and working with people. Working with staff involves having an open door policy, having them share in the decision-making process, and providing them with the opportunity to implement policy in the

fashion they deem best. He believes that his consultant position provided him with the best training for the principalship, that is, working with people. He also views himself as somewhat of a 'boat rocker', more so in his early career than now. He believes this perception of himself sets him off from a majority of his colleagues. Sponsor F was the protege of the same area superintendent that supported Sponsor D.



TIME IN SCHOOL SERVICE - SPONSOR "F"

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APPENDIX A-S

Summary of Profiles

Examining the previous six profiles, a summary profile can be compiled composed of the common characteristics each sponsor has acquired. All the sponsors interviewed served in the military during World War II. Generally this meant interruption of their education and for some, their careers. All of the persons except for Sponsors E and F changed their career focus from something outside of education to teaching. As a result of the war, all of them entered teaching much older than other college graduates entering administration and the age factor was compensated by being more mature and more worldly in their thoughts and behavior. Although all of them except for Sponsor E wanted to teach on the secondary level, each one began their teaching in the elementary level except Sponsor B who began at a senior high but later transferred to the elementary section. Four of the six stated that they had sponsors helping them enter administration. It appears that Sponsors A and B did not have an administrator pushing their candidacy into administration, although Sponsor A later in his administrative career was pushed into higher administrative levels. All of the sponsors stated in one fashion or another that they are different from their colleagues because of some uniqueness in themselves or some unique background experience. All of the sponsors

interviewed stated their belief in faculty involvement in the decision making process of the school. Also for the training of future administrators, their proteges, they believe in co-administrative training experiences. Each of the sponsors has one quality which distinguishes him from the others. Sponsor A is goal oriented, for Sponsor C decision making is primary, Sponsor C believes in having strong self-confidence, Sponsor D is highly people oriented, Sponsor E is philosophy centered and Sponsor F on accomplishing the task. Of the six sponsors interviewed, two for all practical purposes are classified as falling in the minority status--Sponsor A is a Chicano and Sponsor E is a woman. Of the remaining four sponsors Sponsor C and E are Italian but the Italian American has not been treated as a minority within this study.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

Lutz and Iannancone's data collection design includes the use of participant observation. Originally the methodology plan of data collection stipulated the incorporation of participant observation but two factors caused its elimination. First, of the six sponsors selected three were no longer in the role of the principal and a fourth sponsor was transferring to another school. Hence, in four cases no sponsor-protege relationship was in operation at the time of research. Secondly, the researcher moved his residency from Los Angeles, California, to Austin, Texas. Consequently, the anticipated daily access was removed. Therefore, unalterable conditions did not allow for participant observation as a means of data collection.

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

Since the topic for research was disguised in order to facilitate acquiring pertinent information, the questions posed had to be couched. Listed below under Column A are samples of questions used in the interviews which the researcher found to provide significant information. Under Column B is listed the intent of what the researcher was probing for with the couched question. The list is not all inclusive.

Column A	Column B
Talk a little about your professional background starting with college.	Trace your promotional career pattern within the district.
What were the highlights of your teaching years?	What in your teaching career had the most impact?
Was there anyone that really assisted you in becoming a vice-principal?	Were you sponsored? Who were your models?
How would you characterize your style of administration as a principal?	What is your perspective of operating a school?
When did you start feeling you knew the principalship well enough so you could start talking about administration to other people?	When did you start sponsoring persons?
How do you provide guidance to trainees?	What compliance mechanisms do you use?
Did you get a lot of people asking you to help them into administration?	Were you sought out by people as a sponsor? Did you have a reputation of being a sponsor?
What do you stress to teachers vying for administration?	What kind of perspective do you build in a protege?
How do you measure if a person is developing?	What is significant for passage?
How many teachers have you helped into administration?	How many proteges have you sponsored?
Is there a pattern for becoming an administrator in the district?	What is the informal route to promotion?
How demanding is it to help a person train for administrator?	How much time spent with protege? What is the sponsor-protege ratio?